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Scholars, Teachers, or Actors*

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More than twenty years ago, a group of men went from a session of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association down a street of one of the greatest of our Pacific coast cities. As they left the building in which the meeting was held, a few comments were made concerning the papers which had just been read. At once every member of the party began laughing, and this uncontrolled and uncontrollable laughter continued for several blocks before the calm of scholars, the dignity of teachers, or the acting of actors was restored. All of these men were passing then from young manhood to maturity; all of them have since read papers before learned societies; and at least four of them have been presidents of the Pacific Coast Branch.

Why did these men of usually grave mien, of sound mind, and of scholarly training, laugh at what they had heard from the lips of serious men, who agonized in their earnestness as they read carefully prepared papers dealing minutely with more or less minute matters, in which a minute fraction of scholars had any interest, and which by no stretch of the imagination could be integrated into the body of knowledge that is useful, even to scholars?

If the implications of the question are sound, the question answers itself. But perhaps they are not. So, therefore, these men laughed, mayhap, because they did not get recondite meanings, or were not able to recognize the setting of what they had heard in the continuity and solidarity of history; perhaps they were amused at the great labor to bring forth a mountain that had produced a molehill, or they saw that all the world is a stage and there were not scholars or teachers but actors on it.

In *Harpers Magazine* for April, 1934,¹ Gerald W. Johnson has an article on "What the Old Girl Should Know," countering of course the highly educational articles or books on "What a Young Girl Should Know," in which he makes a penetrating remark. He says: "Now if there is anything the old girl ought to know about sex, it is when to giggle about it. For laughter and lust are two complete incompatibles; like oil and water they never really mix, but always tend to displace each other." Johnson evidently means to say it is healthy morally

* Presidential address at annual meeting of Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association, Stanford University, December 27, 1934.

¹ Vol. CLXVIII, pp. 607-614.

to giggle about sex at the right time, and that laughter will cause displacement of the lust that may be evil.

May it not be, therefore, that what many mature historical scholars ought to know is when to giggle at scholarship? May it not be that laughter and lust for producing inane and meaningless but nicely formed brain children are complete incompatibles? It is within the realm of possibility that, for the half dozen men now some twenty years older than they were when they walked down the street healthily laughing, nothing could be a better sign of intellectual soundness than for these same persons again to break into uncontrollable laughter at many things about which they and others have grown so serious as to be morbid.

These opening paragraphs may seem remote from the subject of this paper, but they are in fact very close to it. They have enough point to serve as an introduction to a discussion of history, its teaching and writing, and lead to the placing in juxtaposition of the sound scholar-teacher and the racketeer-actor.

Certain questions perennially face historical students. One of these is, What is history? a question which it would be improper to attempt to answer in the presence of historians, though it is quite certain that no two of them would agree entirely on a definition. Some would say: "History, in its broadest sense, is everything that ever happened. It is the past itself, whatever that may be." Others would say: "History in the fullest sense of the word includes all we know about everything that man has ever done or thought or hoped or felt. It is the limitless science of past human affairs." While still another, instead of defining history as a record of past events, would prefer to regard it "as an effort to find out how human habits, beliefs, and institutions have come about, in order to understand them better." And then there would be the more or less philosophical historian, who would say that he thinks of the history of human civilization as "a story of labors and edifices, continually modified and enlarged and adapted to the new streams of life—a story of old walls outgrown, torn down, rebuilt in new forms, of the sacrilegious hands of rude barbarians clumsily laid upon ancient monuments, of old churches piously preserved by the faithful, or palaces demolished for the passage of the tram-car, or slums razed for a broad boulevard, or modern parliaments sitting in the halls of Renaissance despots, or Communist headquarters in the casinos of Roman nobles." It will be noted that whoever the definer may be, history is the story of the past as dug out, recorded, interpreted, and applied in the present.

An additional preliminary question involves the value of history. It may be stated in this form: Why seek out, write, study, and teach history, or, What use has history? Both the ordinary citizen and the college student have a right to ask the question, and the historian has no right to feel himself so superior as to treat with contempt the questioner. Nor should he be so much of an actor as to be nervous about the question, for, accepting any definition of history that has a degree of understanding in it, the value of history can be demonstrated. Even if values be reduced to their lowest level, that of the theorist who commands that

only that be taught which can be used, it can be asserted truly that an intelligent human being interested in life will find as much actual use for history as he will for any study he may pursue in the course of acquiring an education.

The broadening value of history can scarcely be questioned. Beyond the satisfaction of knowing salient facts from the past, the utility of such knowledge in giving tolerance, appreciation, and materials to use in the process of thinking must be recognized. It is rather generally accepted by thoughtful persons that the theories and institutions of the present are better understood if their genesis and evolution are known. Knowledge of how the ancients approached the questions of human life and destiny, or of the intellectual formulations of the medievalist, are a part of the illumination of modern life's thought systems and philosophies—all of which are platitudes to this learned body.

Not alone does the present generation of thoughtful persons receive value in knowing *how* past generations thought and acted as they did, but also in learning in the terms of the times something of *why* they thought and acted as they did. The present day historian is not trying to interpret for the future, when he departs from the old doctrine that the business of the historian is to tell *how* things happened. He is attempting to meet his responsibility to explain for his own day the *why*, as well as the *how* and the *when*. One of our greatest living historians, in accepting the obligation of the historian to be this kind of an interpreter, put in the preface to one of his volumes these words: "The book is intended for the maturer students in American colleges and universities and for readers who may be desirous of knowing why things happened as they did as well as how they happened."

It would be too much to demand of the historical scholar or teacher that he be a clairvoyant, who out of the patterns of the past should draw with unerring hand the plans for the future of mankind. But there is justice in expecting of him that he should turn the light from the past upon the present. One of the aspects of this healthy trend is the increased importance given to the history of the past one hundred years, and the grudging admission that a person versed in that period may be an historian. A writer on recent history, in a preface to his book, quotes the learned National Education Committee, reporting on the school curriculum for 1895, as saying: "The formation of the Constitution, and a brief study of the salient features of the Constitution itself, conclude the study of the portion of the history of the United States that is sufficiently remote to be treated after the manner of an educational classic." The committee advised that nothing be done about the century and more that had since passed. But those days are gone, let us hope, forever. And again to quote the historian referred to: "Now we are under a different dispensation; the governing theory is that history is chiefly useful to explain the present, and that the present cannot be explained without a special emphasis upon those events which are immediately back of and have, as it were, given the final push that has brought it into being."

History being what it is, and its uses being such as they are, the next step in

this series of questions has to do with the business of the historical scholar. What is the task of the historian? If he happens to be what he is not likely to be, a person of independent means and not earning his living as part of a particular productive enterprise, he may do whatever he chooses to do, or do nothing as the case may be. If he is working under some endowment or subsidy, he will follow in spirit the ends sought by the endowment or individuals providing his subsistence wage. Some of what these two groups do will be valuable to many; some of it will be worthless, some of it will be dilettante work, or of interest to the individuals doing it because they love their task, but of little or no value to anyone else. These two groups of workers need be considered in our discussion only incidentally, though certain conclusions apply to them also.

The great majority of historical workers do not fall in the classes referred to, but are found in the faculties of colleges and universities, some of which are maintained by endowments and fees, but the greater part by appropriations derived from public taxation. These historians come to their positions partly because of their supposed abilities and equipment and, like the great body of workers in any field, partly by fortuitous circumstances over which they have no control. If they serve a number of years, and the number of students in their departments increases, on their death or retirement they will be honored with praise for having built their departments from a mere handful of students to great hosts, when it might be correct to say the numbers increased in spite of them. Their task is a pleasant one; the years of their preparation were delightful ones as a rule; their work is easy and would not be fatiguing were it not for the almost perpetual working of a defense mechanism against some kind of a complex; they are paid well comparatively, many of them receiving more than they could earn in any other line of activity, and often more than they are worth; they have been God's chosen people in the past four years, sitting in the seats of the mighty on top of the world, yet complaining of their hard lot; and they have abundant opportunity to be molders of the thoughts of men and of civilizations.

Specifically, what are these men and women expected to do? Two lines of work which in most cases must be carried on concurrently make demands upon their time, their energies, and their intellectual abilities. They are employed to extend the frontiers of knowledge and to teach. In most cases, these persons are employed primarily to teach, but as most of them think they are scholars, they soon come to feel that were it not for the inferior and menial task of teaching they could really get something worthwhile done. In the meanwhile, many of them fret so much of their vitality away because they cannot do what they consider worthwhile that they do rather poorly what they have to do.

In saying these things, there is no intention of decrying historical research, unless it be to condemn the researching where the knowledge is so complete and facts so abundant that what is needed is not more research but someone with historical understanding and philosophical insight to interpret so clearly that one

can see something besides trees as men walking. There must be research both for widening of horizons and making possible the reinterpretation of the past in the light of the present. Research is necessary also to keep the scholar alive, for as soon as one ceases to go along the line of discovery, he begins to die no matter how young in years he may be, and as long as he continues on that line, he is living, vital, stimulating, no matter what his physical age may be. It is highly important that those who are able to reinterpret what is known, so as to widen and buttress truth, should help in the age-old task of writing books.

It is no less important that the thousands of young men and women who sit at the feet of the scholar-teacher should be given bread instead of a stone. They should be given stimulating, life-giving food instead of dried tongue. They should be taught effectively, guided wisely into paths of learning, or inspired with interest in truth, if there is any spark at all than can be awakened. Surely, those who endow universities and colleges, and those who provide the public funds for their support are concerned with the advancement of learning. Just as surely, they have been and now are interested in having those paid to teach meet the challenge of their great opportunity to impart knowledge, and a love of truth to the thousands who for one reason or another sit at their feet—some studying and seeking, many just sitting. It is not their business to take the attitude of one who said that if it were not for having to teach those classes he could get something done, or to hate their students as some seem to do.

Here is the place to ask an impertinent question and to make an allegation that may arouse resentment. The question is this: Is the historian employed for specific tasks in colleges and universities scholar, teacher, or actor? To affirm that he is one or the other would constitute a generalization that would be untrue. So the allegation will be that some are scholars, some are teachers, and some are actors, and that so many belong to the latter class as to make the historical field among others a mild, modified, modern racket. These are hard words, but they should not be taken for less or for more than they mean.

How well are the members of the historical profession carrying on their two chief lines of activity? First, let the inquiry be directed to their work in widening the horizons of knowledge and increasing human understanding. As to quantity, it can be said in the language of an ancient seer, "of the making of many books there is no end." As to studies such as are read at historical meetings or published in historical magazines, these constitute a never failing stream of scholarly erudition. Some of the product is of highest quality, fulfilling all the canons of good scholarship, adding to the sum total of human knowledge, and showing not only industry and artistic ability, but insight and interpretative skill, as well. But let us face the fact squarely and say that of much of what is produced, it were good had it never been born, since it comes not from the urge of scholars for truth, but from the supposed necessity of acting for an end.

Some of the difficulty arises from the fact that our scholastic organization assumes that any productive scholar can teach, and that anyone who can teach

should be a productive scholar. The historian earning a living by his profession soon gets a new angle on the economic interpretation of history, for he learns that even in the scholarly world there is much measuring done with an economic yardstick. Professional advancement is seen to rest largely on writings. This gives an urge to write that is not always basically a love of scholarship. Also, writings seem to mark one as belonging in the upper quartile. Any college professor knows that most persons who are being taught, especially the many experienced teachers who in the past few years have been seeking college degrees, think of themselves as above the average, or better than a C in the curve. Likewise, men trained in historical science think of themselves as being above the mediocrity of teachers. The more they think of prestige and position, the stronger grows the conviction that they are scholars, and the more inevitable it is that they become actors.

Let us illustrate one form such acting takes. Some years ago a book appeared in a well known field of historical study. It was an attractive product of the book-maker's art. It was reasonably well written. Its preface told of the arduous labors of the writer in producing the book, of his travels over thousands of miles, of months spent in libraries in widely separated places, and of the years given to the production. What was in it? Just what is in many others books. It added little, if anything to human knowledge. All that was there could have been compiled in anyone of several libraries without all the travel and labor of years. It was just another book—the author, more or less of an actor. Some months ago another book came from the press. It was artistic outside and in. What labors it had cost! Thirty years and more, and there were libraries, great men, scholarly devotion, to give this to the world. The chapters were for the most part meager generalizations on what could readily be found in other books. The book was meritorious for what it was but not for what the writer led one to think in the preface. This writer also became an actor. Here are graduate students and young professors, who laugh at such writers as Hubert Howe Bancroft because of his crudity and lack of historical degrees, yet who write up again what he wrote, using his footnote references when they have never even checked their correctness. And here are books written in approved scholarly form, using in a carefully veiled way without credit being given the work and references of others who labored long. Actors are not necessarily scholars.

What should be said of much of the painstaking labor expended in running down and piling up in a little pile facts concerning episodes that are unimportant in themselves, and that have little relation to institutions or the evolution of civilization? Often this work is done with a thorough cataloguing and an artistic footnoting of inconsequentials, but the results have interest for few, they are almost at once lost, and not even the author attaches any importance to what is done save that it is something in "black and white" which may be listed after a name in a card catalogue.

It is with trembling step that at this point we tread on the edge of holy ground. With no desire to challenge the high scholarship represented by the

studies which are published in the *American Historical Review* or the *Pacific Historical Review*, may it not be asked if there is not some degree of acting even here. It would be illuminating, possibly heartening, but more likely startling if the facts could be known as to the proportion of members of the American Historical Association who actually read the studies presented in these publications, or who use the results of these studies in useful books. Is it certain that all of them are written to be read or used? In what is being said here, it is not our purpose to make a blanket indictment against the sincerity of historical students, nor to criticize the urge to scholarly production. But in praising the work of scholars it is not improper to appraise it, and now and then to ask the use of writing a book or an article if one does not have a book or article to write.

Now a word about the historian as teacher. Professor Henry Johnson wrote some years ago that "The literature called forth by school instruction in history in the past three hundred years is in some respects a melancholy literature. Much of it can, without great effort, be read as a continuing diagnosis of unsound conditions. Something was apparently wrong in the seventeenth century, when history first began to be taught seriously as an independent school subject, and something has been wrong ever since."

What has been wrong, it would not be possible to say with certainty. Anyone who has attempted to teach large classes and small knows there is no royal road to success in either case, and that many roads lead to failure. One thing that can be put down as fact is that too many who are employed primarily to teach are trying so hard to be productive scholars, while being forced to teach, that they can be neither—only actors. Reading tomes of dry compilation day after day to a class is acting like a scholar, but as teaching it is not getting over the footlights. Handing out a few lines of outline to which are appended pages of references in several languages, which the students cannot read and which the teacher has never read and in many cases never seen, may go along with good teaching, but the effort to impress with syllabi that the students will neither use nor keep is theatrical and not scholarly. One of the chief causes of inadequate teaching is that it is felt necessary to appear to the students and to the scholarly world as a scholar.

What can be done? Not much, for historians are going to continue to regard themselves as God's chosen people of the scholarly world. But there are ways of coöperating with God, and one of the ways is to see that there is point in such a remark as was made some years ago by a lawyer, a graduate of the University of California, who at present occupies one of the highest legal positions in the West. This man was acquainted with the developments in historical research and instruction by specialists highly trained in historical science, but not too broadly in other lines. In the course of a conversation with a graduate assistant in a university, he referred to a man who had written little, who was versed in philosophical science as well as historical, who had rather a clear concept of the history of civilization, and who could instruct clearly and forcefully. The lawyer said:

"That man gave us the kind of history persons like us ought to know." Most of the thousands of students in history classes in colleges and universities need the kind we know this lawyer meant they ought to have.

A great many historians are highly skilled in their specific field, and in the technique of their craft, who are too narrowly trained even to interpret their specialty for their times. This has been due, in some cases, to intellectual limitations and lack of opportunity, but most of all to narrowness in outlook of those who were responsible for their early intellectual guidance. Many of our historical scholars have missed the breadth and depth which come from some mastery of philosophic and of other social sciences.

Many historians have a high regard for Frederick J. Turner, though some will say, "But he didn't write hardly a thing." He developed a school of history, not because of prolific writings, but because he had a philosophy of the frontier. And others of our outstanding men, men like Dodd, or Beard, or Bolton, or Robinson of Stanford, or Hayes, are effective as scholars and teachers, not because they have written or taught, though all of these have done both, but because they have interpreted their fields of history out of a rich background of social, political, and classical philosophy.

This being the case, it ill becomes an historian, as he often does, to speak contemptuously of the philosopher or to scorn political economy or political science, and then to put together himself a perfectly jointed skeleton of dry bones at which he now and then laughs as long as he retains his sense of humor. For is it not true that history "began with the song of bards and ends in philosophy"? And even if there is no such thing as a philosophy of history, "history supplies data for philosophy," and the historian becomes the historian in the most vital sense when he discovers philosophy as "he stops adding pieces together and inquires *how* and *why* things happened and *how* and *why* he is arranging his report." When it is so conceived, "history can furnish cement to bind all other social disciplines into a workable unity, giving to them a patterned background and, by virtue of its basic time element, a dynamic which pertains to the future." It is indeed encouraging that some historians have accepted the view of history as just stated, and that out of the four general sessions of this year's annual meeting of the American Historical Association, the first will have as its theme, "Dynamics and History," and the third, "Philosophy and History," while the luncheon meeting of December 29 will also be treated as a general session for the discussion of the Report of the Commission on the Social Sciences in the Schools.

A few years ago history was becoming relatively of less importance among the social sciences. Quite recently there has appeared some evidence of a marked revival of interest in history in some universities. This may have resulted from what seems the futility of pursuing the so-called practical and vocational studies in our rapidly changing order, or it may indicate a feeling that a solid cultural background is after all the best preparation for life.

It may be that historical scholars who occupy chairs will not take a word of counsel from one who for fifteen years has occupied a settee. But a chair places some limitations on one as well as a settee, and a settee may offer some advantages which a chair does not. As head of a department which in addition to history, includes also political science, sociology, geography, and economics; having touched in my studies some of what the best of historians and other social scientists are thinking about historical study; and having had much opportunity for contacting groups of persons, scholarly and otherwise, for even the D.A.R. Chapters still invite me to address them, I can speak, if not with authority, at least from experience. And believe me or not, I say to you with confidence that the increased interest in historical science is not an interest in history for show purposes, or for displaying the erudition of the scholarly as exhibited in the mechanics of scholarly production. It is rather an unconscious belief that you can give, as William James said, "humanistic value to almost anything by teaching it historically." It is an interest not in dates, or in facts as such, or in showmanship, but in history written and taught with reference to the successive failures and achievements of men and of civilizations—in other words, as a humanity.

It is coming to be recognized in the social world that if the best things of capitalism and civilization are to be saved, the showmanship and show of profits must be cast aside and human interests be made paramount. If in the social-science field, history is to hold its high position, it must function as a humanity by recording, interpreting, and humanizing the past for the instruction and illumination of human beings of the present. This can be done by men and women who understand history, who believe that intellectual integrity is one of the most sacred things of life, and who as conscious guardians of the lamp of learning assume their obligation to scholarship and to humble seekers after truth. History will function and will hold its high place if historians through their fellowship as scholars and teachers will draw together the broken and dissevered fragments of knowledge, interpret the story of the past to other scholars and to laymen, exhibit devotion to truth, but spurn its semblance, be actors never, but scholars and teachers always.

The Decline of Antiquity

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To understand death, one must first study life. The decline of antiquity is but one phase in the development of the ancient world. A knowledge of the rise of classical civilization might aid materially in affording an explanation for the decline.

Greece produced within a very short span a Socrates, a Plato, and an Aristotle. One is not able to explain the causal nexus in a cultural complex. The appreciation of the temporal synchronization of various social forces will serve perhaps as a substitute for the study of causality.

The mechanistic, materialistic architectonic of Marx was an important stimulus in furthering a monistic approach to the study of history. After the middle of the last century one finds, therefore, historical phenomena constantly interpreted in light of a single cause. Unfortunately, the monistic historians disagree. Three of the ablest students in the field of ancient history offer us such divergent explanations of the decline of antiquity as cultural emasculation, class struggles, and soil exhaustion.¹ Clearly, these theories are mutually exclusive. They have, however, one characteristic in common. They deal with but one phase of the problem; they discuss the recidivism without considering the previous advance. Why did the Roman spirit suddenly weaken; why did the class struggles not develop earlier; why did the soil which had been tilled for thousands of years lose its vitality within a very short period?

These postulates underlie the following analysis. It is assumed that a rich cultural existence can only be predicted upon the solid basis of economic well-being. A community which spends ninety-five per cent of its energies in satisfying the bare material needs of life will be very unlikely to produce science and art of a high order. Leisure is a necessary prerequisite for cultural activity; economic surplus, an essential concomitant of leisure. Secondly, significant alterations in economic conditions will lead to major adjustments in other spheres of social enterprise. Finally, it is assumed that a state adapts itself with much more facility in times of expansion than in periods of contraction.

Unlike the monistic historians, we refuse to accept any explanation of the rise and fall of nations in terms of unique phenomena. We follow Marx's emphasis upon the economic factors in the situation. The material forces work as delimiting agents. It is essential, however, to pay primary attention to the interacting elements in the complex. The conjunction of events is of paramount significance.

¹ The three theories are those of Eduard Meyer, M. Rostovtzeff, and V. G. Simkhovitch. I take this opportunity of expressing my indebtedness to Professor Simkhovitch and two others with whom I have been privileged to work, Professors R. M. MacIver and W. L. Westermann, for their stimulation and critical aid.

GREECE

The student of Greek history must be impressed by the evident time relationship between the economic and political ascendancy of the city-states and the period of their cultural advance.

It has already been remarked that we are in no position to deal analytically with problems of national genius. We can study, however, the material progress of a nation. According to our assumptions, no intensive cultural existence is possible except upon the basis of a substantial well being. To trace the circumstances which aided in increasing the wealth and power of Greece is possible. The evaluation of the factors which helped to bring on a recession is also feasible. A sketch of this nature may shed some important light upon the darkest of all problems—the decline of antiquity.

The century and a half between 750 and 600 B.C. was one of marked activity in the life of the Greek city-states. During this period, Greece was rapidly colonizing very important sections of the Mediterranean Ocean. Greece adolcesced. Until this time, the islands of the Aegean had existed as more or less self-contained and isolated units. The policy of widespread emigration led to a new orientation. The national economy became in more ways than one susceptible to international influences. Closely allied with this movement of colonization, was an increase in commerce and trade. Within a short time, the Greek peninsula was to become the emporium of the entire commercial traffic of the Mediterranean. In the sixth century, Greece had reached maturity.

The centuries from Homer to Hesiod were not marked by complete economic stability.² It is important to emphasize that the economic life of this period was primarily agricultural. It seems reasonable to assume that the fertility of the countryside was never very great. The difficulty of obtaining the material necessities of life was substantial. It is surprising to find more than very unimportant cultural achievements during these many years.

It was perhaps more than a coincidence that important changes in the economic structure of the country preceded the period of the blossoming of Greek culture. As long as the people had to rely primarily upon horticulture for their daily livelihood, there was little chance either for the accumulation of wealth or the establishment of a leisure class. The surplus from the land must have been very insignificant.

The two centuries of phenomenal progress in the arts and sciences (600 B.C.-400 B.C.) would possibly never have come to pass had not significant alterations occurred in the economic life of the times. Trade and commerce, not only on a national but on an international scale, constituted the basis for the great increase in the economic well being of the Greek city-states. These forces will be discussed in detail when the consideration of the decline confronts us. At present, it is important to follow the meandering trail which led upward.

The expansion of Greece in the field of international commercial relations

²Despite the contrary point of view of J. Toutain in his *L'Economie Antique*, Chap. I.

synchronizing with the change in the international monetary standard. A widespread money economy superseded by and large the older system of exchange in *naturalia*. These simultaneous occurrences were not independent of one another. The two tendencies conducted to mutual reinforcement. The transformation in the exchange structure was not sudden; but the innovation was almost completed by the middle of the sixth century.

Agriculture had dominated the scene until this time. The primary source of life had been sweated out of the rocky soil. But the horizon broadens. The Colonists and the neighboring peoples usurp a much more important position. Even far distant nations are not without influence upon Greece, now that she has become the center of Mediterranean commerce. The science of water transport improved greatly. The home market is no longer an isolated and independent entity. The Greek farmer in the centuries past was entirely oblivious to the cost of production or the nature of the crops in Asia Minor, Egypt, or northern Africa. But times have changed. He could probably still draw his sustenance out of the soil—the same soil which had nurtured his ancestors for generations. But life was hard and the struggle difficult. Forces were at work, however, which prevented the farmer from exercising his choice between continuing in the ways of old or undertaking adjustments to meet the new conditions. The introduction of money broke down the barriers of economic isolation. It furthermore worked to disrupt the patriarchal family. As the standard of living commenced to rise, population increased; urban centers grew up and assumed a new importance in the life of the country. Artisans became more numerous; the handicrafts continued to differentiate.

The farmer probably remained on the land; his children, however, were apt to wander away now that additional opportunities opened on a larger scale. The new position of Greece in international trade increased the number of merchants. Traders from foreign countries became a force in the Greek markets. The native farmer in selling his produce to the city folk had to compete in price with the foreign seller. In most cases, he was probably unable to meet the competition for, agriculturally, Greece was never a very fruitful country.

The small land holdings had predominated in the past. The capital of the independent farmer was small. Any new combination of circumstances which affected his rate of return would probably prove disastrous. It is not unlikely that tenant peasantry was widespread. Rents and mortgage payments had to be met. At this period, the money lenders started to press the farmer harder than usual. The explanation is simple. Trade and commerce opened up many new and much more lucrative investment opportunities. The speculative gains from commercial enterprise were great; capital was in demand. How was the poor farmer to meet these new conditions? He could not and he did not. A large part of the rural population drifted into the towns.³

³ In George W. Botsford and E. G. Sihler, *Hellenistic Civilization* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1915), a text is quoted—about 430 B.C.—in which reference is made to the

As long as the country was experiencing a period of inflation, the difficulty of absorbing these new recruits was slight. The new wealth deadened whatever concern might have been expressed for the farmers—victims of a major socio-economic revolution.

The country became increasingly dependent for its food supply upon imports.⁴ This condition was obviously not serious as long as large profits from commerce, and heavy tributes from political domination, offered more than ample funds to pay for these purchases.

The *nouveau riche* bought some of the foreclosed and mortgaged farms in order to secure not a little of the prestige customarily associated with land owning. Realty was moreover a sound investment. But the capitalists were not primarily interested in their new acquisitions from a financial point of view. One could never hope for a rate of return from land which would be comparable to the profits from trade and commerce.

The state of affairs during this rather extended period of expansion and prosperity (600 B.C.-400 B.C.) was highly promising. The rich were becoming richer; the handicrafts were affording ample fields for creative employment; the general standard of living was, doubtless, rising. The country was seething with achievement and success. Assuredly, there were disturbing elements present. As the Scriptures remarked "And the poor shall always be with you." The agricultural situation was not encouraging; an urban proletariat was forming. But the care of the less fortunate members of the economy was comparatively simple as long as the country was prosperous. They were thrown sufficient crumbs to keep them, if not satisfied, at least placable.

The predominant position of Athens was in no small measure due to her leadership of the Delian League and her strategic position in the trade routes of the Mediterranean. From the beginning of the fourth century, a number of forces commenced to weaken the bulwarks of Greek ascendancy. Warfare between the former members of the League became the order of the day. The financial conditions of the cities became very bad. They were living from hand to mouth. The continued growth of the urban centers brought with it a large group of unemployed proletarians and ex-soldiers.

There occurred important shiftings in the external scene, simultaneous with the changes which were progressing internally. Greece's prestige in the Mediterranean was seriously undermined through the inter-fraternal warfare between the various city-states. The rebirth of piracy is incontrovertible evidence of the slipping of Greek political power. The colonies in the West emancipated themselves completely. In fact, they became the competitors of the Greek city-states.

frequent shifting of the farm population into urban centers at the time of war, and the difficulty of inducing these people to return to the country when the danger had passed.

⁴ It is estimated that Athens imported throughout most of the fifth century about five-eighths of her food supply. One can easily recognize, therefore, the importance of the state control of grain.

Carthage was slowly reentering the picture. The Near East and Egypt reoriented themselves to the disadvantage of the Peloponnesian peninsula.

In short, the equilibrium of forces upon which Greece had been able to develop one of the most ornamental cultures of all times was no longer in balance at the beginning of the fourth century. And as time went on, the discordant notes became more prominent.

The prosperity of the Greek city-states was the result of their leadership in the trade and commerce of the Mediterranean. In fact, for more than two centuries, they had dominated the entire scene. Their economic prosperity was a commercial prosperity. The analogy might well be drawn to the Italian cities of the Renaissance or to England.⁵ The latter case presents rather striking resemblances. Colonization, money economy, the establishment of the home country as the emporium of world trade, the decline of husbandry, industrial development, imperialistic expansion. And then, competition from her own colonies, competition from newcomers, the waning of her militaristic and naval powers, the end of her imperialistic exploits, a reorientation of the other nations—the beginning of the decline.

The problem of the rapidity of the regression and the elements which help to reinforce the original impetus must be reviewed. The increase in economic well being during the sixth and fifth centuries brought about important structural changes in the society of that day. An adjustment between the means of making a living and living must always exist. A change in the former, especially if it be radical, will almost inevitably have serious repercussions upon the latter. A lack of basic adjustment can be but transient. In Greece, the social adaptations to the newer economy were distinctly rapid.

A recapitulation of the changes in economic and social life of the city-states is now in order: The country is no longer self-sufficient as regards its food supply;⁶ diversification and increasingly lucrative returns from commercial pursuits are declining; growth of an urban population and the predominance of the cities are increasingly evident; a sharp differentiation between the rich and the poor prevails. In short, the life and culture of Greece throughout the fifth and sixth centuries was primarily determined by the affluence of the upper classes. But the major source of their income, of their surplus, was drying up—what next?

A readjustment would have been in order. But this is more easily said than done. A return to a self-sufficient economy based on agriculture would have clearly implied a material lowering of the standard of living. Many of the luxuries and extravagances of life which the period of prosperity permitted would need to have been scrapped. An individual finds retrenchment difficult, and a state dislikes

⁵ Cf. E. Meyer who draws the parallel between Greece and England in his *Wirtschaftliche Entwicklung des Altertums*.

⁶ It is more than possible that Greece was never completely self-sufficient, as regards her food supply. It is distinctly probable that during the period of economic well being, her population increased. Therefore, the feeding of the native population solely from native produce became still more difficult.

to undertake radical changes. It much prefers to muddle through, and often this muddling only aggravates the condition.

The question must also be raised whether a new orientation was feasible. Was the return to the land possible? A neglect of the fields, a loss of agricultural technique through disuse, the outlook of the urban population, the scarcity of draft animals, the deterioration of agricultural equipment—all these elements, which were the offspring of the preceding period, made the obvious adaptation almost impossible. A civilization on the advance resembles a successful army. It burns its bridges. A successful retreat is a *contradictio in adjecto*.

But life continues; decline is a relative term. Greece finally readjusted itself—but on an entirely different plane. Veblen once remarked that our thoughts and institutions are always antiquated because of the time lag between the technical, economic processes and the adjustments which we make to meet the new conditions.

In reviewing the history of Greece, one is impressed with the potency of the economic forces in modifying the social conditions of the country. They dictated changes even though they did not determine the precise nature of the adjustments. As long as the wealth and welfare of the country were increasing, the harmonization of the various elements need not have been perfect. The period increased the numbers of the poor at the same time that it was laying the foundation for a substantial capitalistic class, yet the latter was able to take care of the former without too much difficulty.

When the props of the economic structure were loosened, the nature of the superstructure became highly significant. If it had been light, reenforcements might have been rather simple. But the Greek economy was supporting a very heavily adorned and embellished social organization. When the occasion arose for rapid and radical alterations in the national culture to meet the new economic exigencies, action was postponed until it was too late. A State will struggle to live; it will hardly bestir itself to avoid death.

ROME

Long before the study of history became a scientific discipline, the writers on Rome were prone to point out the disproportionately large influence of the military in the development of the city of the seven hills. In fact, even the contemporary literature was constantly emphasizing the importance of the military victories and conquests. The position of the soldiery will perhaps be a clue to an explanation for the rise and decline of this civilization.

The wholesale subjugation of peoples was not pursued by the Romans for national or racial motives. With conquest came tribute and trade. The trader followed the flag just as often as the flag followed the trader. The importance and interest in the military was well founded. The army did more than offer the patriotic citizen a means of sacrificing his life for his country. It became one

of the most desirable vocations—one in which the economic prizes were tremendous. If the individual was so unfortunate as to depart from this earth in the midst of an encounter, he could at least die with a knowledge that his kinsmen would benefit materially at the conclusion of the engagement. It was along these lines that the city became an empire, the empire became the western world.

The unscientific historians were also prone to point out that another significant feature of Roman civilization was the development of statecraft—politics. The army and politics were very closely allied. And justly so. It was through the control of the ballot boxes that one obtained command of a legion, or the governorship of a province. The stakes were big, very big. The speed with which a Roman administrator was able to amass a fortune is some indication as to the value of the military and political prizes.⁷

These forces were certain to influence Roman life and culture. At the beginning of the first century before Christ, Rome had achieved a unique position. After the last of the Punic Wars, no power on earth contested the right of the city on the Tiber to call herself Mistress of the World. But the process which changed the small tribe in Southern Italy into the most powerful of nations was not consummated without significant alterations occurring in its social and economic patterns.

The small independent farmer disappeared. The patriarchal family life was torn asunder. Man-power became very important. The continuous drains for military purposes had to be met.⁸ The number and cheapness of the foreign slaves helped to undermine further the position of the small agriculturist. Taxes were steadily increasing. The wars, although fought for the most part on foreign territory, were expensive. But the returns were more than satisfactory.

Tributes were levied upon the conquered, tributes in kind and in money. Grain imports from Sicily, North Africa, and Egypt assumed an important rôle in the economic life of the time. Deforestation was proceeding apace. Wood was needed, while the condition of the local soil could easily be neglected in view of the cheapness of foreign food supplies. Perhaps the soil deteriorated. It was inadvisable to farm if pasturing were a possible alternative. As in Greece, the rich bought up the land, but not for purposes of commercial exploitation.⁹ The farm population drifted into the cities. A proletariat was formed.

Bread riots developed early. The problem of grain import sufficient to meet the demand became no simple matter. But while Rome was expanding and conquering new territories and levying new tributes, the strain was met. The rich became richer, and the poor were placated with free bread and circuses. But Rome

⁷ Cf. Cicero on Varro; the career of any distinguished Roman would illustrate the same point, e.g., Caesar's career in Spain.

⁸ T. Frank. *Economic History of Rome* (revised edition), p. 203. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1927.

⁹ Cf. Marcus Cato, Plutarch. xxi. Quoted by Simkhovitch, Vladimir G., "Rome's Fall Reconsidered," in his *Toward the Understanding of Jesus, and Two Additional Historical Studies*, p. 99. New York: Macmillan Co., 1925.

expanded to its ultimate limits, or better still, to the point of exhaustion. It has never been possible, and it probably never will be, for one small group to extend its sovereignty over most of the world for an extended period of time.

The expenditure of money, man-power, and energy during Rome's later conquest was not showing a surplus return. It did not pay, in fact it was impossible to subdue Germania. How can one control nomads; or even an agricultural population which was willing and able to uproot itself at frequent intervals?

At the same time, the richer provinces were being mulcted dry. And this process was proceeding rapidly. As it continued, the margin between the expenses of administration and control, and the amount of return in the form of taxes and tribute was becoming constantly narrowed. Finally the margin disappeared entirely—at times even a deficit was discernible.¹⁰

The cultural scene at Rome, however, had readjusted itself in light of the favorable conditions which the period of expansion permitted. A life of luxury was possible for a minority. It was living off the conquered. For the time being everything was fine. But one cannot kill the cow and expect to continue to drink cream. And Rome killed all the cattle.

The field for profitable imperialism was exhausted. The western world was impoverished. The skimming process had been going on for a long time. Egypt, Babylonia, Persia, Greece, Carthage, and now Rome. And the last proceeded in most systematic and avaricious manner. How was Roman culture built upon economic surpluses to continue, when surpluses were no longer existant? It could not, and yet it tried. We very reluctantly change our mode of life, and sometimes it is almost impossible to adapt ourselves to new conditions.

Rome, the center of a world empire, could not scrap the unessentials, contract, and readjust. Luxuries had become necessities. And necessities could no longer be obtained. It is highly significant that Rome decayed while in a state of peace. Things were very quiet after Vespasian. The returns were not coming in but the old scale of life continued.

Finally, one became aware of the precariousness of the situation. But adjustment was almost impossible. An adult cannot fit into an infant's clothes. A return to the land for the purposes of securing a livelihood was impossible. Neglect, deforestation and the like had not helped the soil. The estates had been fed with outside funds. Now they were asked to do the feeding.

Once again a peculiar alignment of conditions established the basis for a period of rapid growth. Prosperity and well-being were possible for a portion of the population. On the basis of military conquest and political suzerainty Roman culture evolved.

The machine which made this process possible consumed great quantities of fuel. As long as it was fed, it performed with great precision. But it should have

¹⁰ Cf. the Roman conquest of Palestine and the virtual destruction of the country. Mikhail I. Rostovtzeff. *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926.

been clear from the start that eventually the raw materials would give out. Just as soon as they became exhausted, the mechanism fell to pieces.

The mystery of the decline of antiquity has obviously not been solved. But the study of the problem has yielded some interesting results. Both in Greece and in Rome a certain though not similar, conjunction of forces permitted a rapid economic development. Upon this advance in material techniques a broad cultural existence blossomed. But the forces which helped to bring about prosperity disappeared. These nuclei were working in a scheme of interrelations. The structure was dependent for its very existence upon the continuance of these relationships. They ceased to exist, and the structure collapsed.

The Teaching of Current Events by the Panel Forum Method

EDNA McCAULL BOHLMAN

The Progressive Education Association at a recent meeting in New York City discussed the question of having controversial topics brought into the schoolroom. Many at the Conference declared that such topics should be shunned; others felt that they were of real value. Harold Rugg of Teachers College asserted that present day civilization cannot survive unless children become acquainted with the real economic, political and social problems of modern life through frank discussion in the classroom.

During the past year at Abraham Lincoln High School, Des Moines, Iowa, a method of teaching current problems in the twelfth grade was developed which gives the students a better understanding of both sides of current issues than is possible through any other method. In previous years many methods were tried, with no satisfactory results in so far as showing that most social problems of today have at least two sides—or they would not be social problems—and that consequently tolerance of viewpoints different from our own is a primary need. The teaching of current events should certainly aid in the development of that elementary democratic principle.

In addition, the discussion of recent developments in the world of affairs should create a continuing interest in those topics. Society has the right to expect the citizens who come from its schools to have some interest in the affairs of the day. If the school is going to satisfy that expectation, its last chance to do so is in the twelfth grade, for these pupils, as some one has said, "are as close to the assumption of adult attitudes and responsibilities as the public school will ever have them."

EARLIER PROCEDURES

In order to accomplish the ends set forth, these problems must be carefully and skillfully taught. A technique for teaching which will result in a *continuing interest* is difficult to achieve. Teachers frequently fail to realize the necessity of careful preparation on the part of both teacher and pupils. Such preparation is absolutely essential, or the time devoted to current topics is apt to be wasted.

Some teachers try to acquaint boys and girls with daily happenings by having current events for a few minutes each day, or possibly for a period each week. This ordinarily results in students scrambling through the paper at the last minute for something which looks as if it might be acceptable. There is no study of the background of any topic, nor are specific topics followed through from week to week.

A variation of the above method is to assign specific topics which are to be followed by individual students from week to week. This has the advantage of

eliminating many of the unimportant items, and gives some assurance of having material on worthwhile topics presented. There is usually no study of the background of the current problem, nor is there likely to be very much correlation of problems. That is, the person who is following the Agricultural Adjustment Administration may never see any connection between this problem and the policy of the National Industrial Recovery Administration, a topic assigned to someone else. Neither of them will be likely to see any connection between their topics. They will not realize that both are part of a program, and can only be understood in relation to each other.

Another variation is to use specific magazines so as to eliminate unrelated material. This builds an acquaintance with a certain number of good periodicals. If individual students follow specific topics, there is the same lack of coordination already mentioned. If each student is expected to read the same magazine regularly, the results may be better, but there is danger of absorbing the viewpoint of that one magazine, and not understanding the other side of the question.

In addition to the above methods, we have tried having the class keep a large bulletin board to inform the school of current happenings. We headlined the board "The Pick of the Press." Booklets have been made dealing with the personnel and work of Congress and of the State Legislature, as well as on topics of local interest. Students have dramatized problems and interesting events. Political campaign discussions have been followed by an election assembly, where the leaders in the discussions of the previous weeks gave the essence of their reading and of their thinking to the other students of the school. We have had mock sessions of the Assembly of the League of Nations, of Congress and of the State Legislature, discussing particular problems handled by these bodies. Not until the panel forums had been used continuously as a method of procedure did the author feel she was teaching current events as they should be taught.

It is always necessary to have a good supply of current material in the classroom. During last year, copies of the following magazines were available for use of students in my classes. There were duplicate copies of a number of these. In addition, the school library had duplicates of some of the others, besides the magazines it received not included in this list.

Current History
Forum
Harpers
Review of Reviews
Scholastic
Survey Graphic
North American Review
The New Outlook

Business Week
The Nation
Literary Digest
The United States News
Uncle Sam's Diary
American Observer
New York Times, Sunday Edition
 Local daily newspapers

The Des Moines Adult Forums were started as we, teacher and pupils, were experimenting with various plans. The students were urged to attend the meetings. Since they became interested in the methods used, we decided to try them in our economics and civics classes. We particularly liked the panel forum method.

CLASSROOM PROCEDURE

In this method of procedure we periodically, usually each week, chose a topic of social importance and current interest. We selected a chairman, one or more speakers, and four to eight panel members. It was the duty of each speaker to prepare a presentation of a point of view on the topic selected. The panel members had to familiarize themselves with the topic, so that they could make intelligent one or two-minute contributions, and also ask and answer pertinent questions of each other and of the speakers. In this way, varying points of view were presented. The chairman had the task of guiding the discussion so that it would not depart from the topic, and also of summarizing the collective contributions and thinking of the whole group. The other members of the class made up the audience. It was their task to become sufficiently familiar with the topic to ask intelligent questions and to make short contributions from the floor.

During a forum we seated the members of the panel, as well as the chairman and the speakers, about tables facing the rest of the class. They could then converse among themselves, as if the rest of the class were not present, and yet all benefited from the discussion. The speeches were made by the speakers standing and the discussion was carried on among the panel, remaining seated. This made the discussion freer and more informal. When it was time to open the discussion to the others in the class, the chairman arose. In this way he could guide the discussion, avoiding such points as were illogical, inconsequential, or irrelevant. When the period was almost over, the chairman ended the discussion and summarized what had been presented.¹

Participants and audience were given sufficient time for study and reading on the topic selected. They read with more interest and more carefully than they ever had before. The participants were anxious to be able to answer, and to anticipate, the questions. Members of the audience at first were eager to confuse the speakers and the members of the panel. As time passed, however, most of the class developed a real interest in current problems, and asked questions, because of this interest. The spirit of "showing up" someone else disappeared.

This type of discussion made it necessary for participants to study the background of the topic under discussion, and also to examine the different points of view in order to anticipate questions and to explain arguments on the other side. Students found it necessary to see the relation of their particular topics to other topics, for the speaker on the Agricultural Adjustment Administration policy one week would be on the panel, or at least in the audience, the following week when the topic was the National Industrial Recovery Administration. He would probably be inquisitive about the effect of N.R.A. policy on farmers, and thus the speaker had to be prepared to answer him. The problem of correlating one problem with another was made much simpler than under any other system.

¹ For full discussion of the panel method see Thomas Fansler, *Discussion Methods for Adult Groups*, Part III. New York: American Association for Adult Education, 1934.

AN ASSEMBLY PROGRAM

Last spring we decided to hold an all school assembly and present a current problem by the panel forum method. The topic selected was "The New Deal and its Relation to the Farmer, to the Consumer, and to the Laborer." Many of the students in the senior high school had never attended an adult panel forum in spite of the fact that they had been having panel forums in the city every Monday evening for a period of six months. The success of any project rests on the preparation made for it. We felt that some education was necessary if we were to have a successful assembly. We sent groups of students from the different economics and civics classes to other social science and English classes to conduct panel discussions on some current national legislation which we had studied. This resulted in having most of the members of all of the economics and civics classes taking an alive part in the project. It showed other students in the high school what was meant by a panel forum and helped to give them an added background of information. It made those who had been selected for the panel for the all school assembly study the problem very carefully. They did not wish to be unable to answer the questions asked them.

On the afternoon that the forum was held, May 14, 1934, the stage of the auditorium was arranged carefully. Approximately 700 were in the audience. The three main speeches lasted about 45 minutes; the remaining 65 minutes were devoted to questions and answers. Space in this article does not permit quoting the whole procedure verbatim. The Chairman's introduction, a few of the 38 questions asked and answered, and the Chairman's conclusion at the close of the assembly will give a sample of the type of thinking carried on by these boys and girls.

Chairman's Introduction

You, the students of Lincoln High School are no doubt familiar with the public forums that have been conducted in Des Moines during the past year.

The purpose of this assembly today is to illustrate how high-school students are able to conduct a public forum. The success of this meeting depends on our preparation and your co-operation.

The subject selected for this school forum is "The New Deal and its Relations to the Consumer, the Farmer, and the Laborer." The New Deal means the events which have taken place since President Roosevelt was inaugurated President of the United States, March 4, 1933.

The New Deal has already cost us billions of dollars. Why are we so willing to pay the price? In one sentence we might say, "It is because we have gone from the biggest 'boom' to the deepest depression."

During the years of 1927-28 and the early part of 1929, business activity in the United States was at its highest point in history. Wages were high, unemployment was at a minimum, corporations and factories were making extraordinary profits. Just when everyone was most optimistic came the first danger signal, the collapse of the stock market. The world's greatest depression made its appearance.

From October 1929, up to President Roosevelt's inauguration, there was a steady rise of unemployment.

It rose until over 15,000,000 were unemployed, or over ten times as many as the population of Des Moines.

From the stock market crash of October 1929 to March 4, 1933, private business tried to salvage the government from depression. Their efforts failed. On March 4, 1933, the government took up the task. Its success will, no doubt, depend upon its honesty and efficiency.

Today we will attempt to present to you in the few minutes that we have, the real problems of the New Deal.

After the main speakers have given their talks, questions will be asked by the panel and then by the audience.

Questions

Will the Supreme Court uphold the N.R.A.?

We don't know whether they will or not because as yet they have had no reason to make a decision on the N.R.A. or any other emergency national law. We won't know until October, at the earliest, for the Supreme Court has adjourned until then.

All these Acts can be enforced until a time when the Supreme Court should declare them contrary to the Constitution.

The Supreme Court before adjourning decided upon two cases of State laws which might lead us to believe that they would decide in favor of the N.R.A. and other emergency acts.

How would you summarize the failures, and credit sides, of the agricultural department during the past year?

On the failure side we have: (1) corn is maintained at 45 cents a bushel, but only by the government controlling the commercial supply; (2) the wheat acreage program has fallen short of its goal; (3) the milk industry is defiant of the A.A.A.; (4) compulsion has been resorted to; (5) the farmer has had to pay part of the processing taxes; (6) gains made in farm prices have been offset in some instances by increases in the cost of living.

On the credit side we have: (1) cotton has doubled in price; (2) benefit payments have taken up the shock of low prices; (3) a great deal of corn is stored up in case we have a terrible drought; (4) the corn hog program promises to revive the midwest; (5) we are moving toward a long time plan of land control; (6) 20 per cent of the disparity between the prices farmers get and the prices of things they buy has been removed.

These constitute just a few of the major failures and credits of the agricultural department during the past year.

How can we, as students, help the Consumer's Council in Des Moines?

For several weeks the civics and economics classes of our school have been discussing the Consumer's Council and its duties. We have concluded that we as students should take part in this plan. We have discussed the following to be suggested to our Council for its consideration: A column in the newspaper, run either daily or weekly, written by the students in which we include comments from government bulletins, etc., which would be of interest to the consumer. Another way that we may help is by keeping our eyes open for people who are not playing fair with the recovery program.

Why is it that there are more people on relief today than there were a year ago?

Because people have used up their income after being released from employment. Many of the younger people have not found jobs.

What can the Consumer's Council do to the retailer who is not playing fair?

This Council has no direct power to force retailers to do anything. If the problem cannot be settled peaceably, they can send the case to the Consumer's Advisory Board in Washington D.C. which has the power to deal with the problem. Public opinion will also help.

How has the purchasing power of the American people increased as a whole?

The aim of the administration is to get prices back to the 1926 level. Prices have been going up and are about one-third of the way to that level, but wages have not increased at the same momentum. Therefore, since the cost of living is higher the purchasing power has not increased to any great extent.

How does it happen that we are having so many strikes? I thought we were supposed to have collective bargaining since the N.R.A. codes of industry were made.

Because the employers have failed to bargain collectively with the employees. They have not recognized the unions or their powers. The result has been strikes.

Is it over collective bargaining that the packers are striking in Des Moines today?

Yes, because the employers failed to bargain collectively with packers in regard to wages and hours. Packers wanted 10 per cent raise and 32-hour working week in place of 40 they now have.

Why take land out of operation to cut down surplus when some foreign countries are greatly in need of these products? Why not give them the products if they cannot purchase them?

We must take this land out of operation because it would not be economically sound to keep on producing more and more even though other countries may need it. Foreign countries are practically broke and our farmers cannot give away their products because they have to have money, and through our reduction program the farmer receives cash benefits for reducing his acreage.

Is it not true that the hog program is working a hardship on some farmers because they do not have receipts to show how many hogs they had before the hog program went into effect, and therefore cannot receive their share of benefits?

Yes, this is true, but nothing can be done about it as no one knew previously this program

was going into effect so as to warn the farmer to have receipts to prove the number of hogs he had.

You said the manufacturers are using the consumers as guinea pigs; I wonder if the consumer's aren't making guinea pigs of themselves by demanding and buying the lowest priced articles? How are they going to get around this in the future?

First of all, may I ask the question, "How are we to know that the people know what they are getting?" Is it not logical to say that part of the blame lies there? Now as to the future—we hope through our councils and boards to be able to educate the consumers so that they will know what they are buying.

What is the purpose of the Consumer's Council?

The Consumer's Council has three major jobs: (1) investigate price changes; (2) educate consumers; and (3) sound warning to merchants who are not playing fair under the Recovery Program.

What effect would a drought have upon the recovery program for the farmer?

In case of a drought, the government might have to change some of their present plans such as letting the farmer plant corn on the ground rented the government, for fodder and some of the reduction programs might have to be changed so as to have enough of certain grains. As yet no definite plans have been established.

Chairman's Conclusion

To summarize our discussion, I wish to say that a battle is being waged between the American people and the wolf, with the chief weapon, the New Deal.

Concisely, what is the New Deal? The New Deal is the term applied to the new economic policies set in motion by President Roosevelt and his administration and carried into practice by a series of recovery acts passed by the Congress of the United States. The goal is genuine national economic recovery.

Today you have had presented to you the New Deal as to the farmer, the laborer, and the consumer.

Briefly, we have seen that the farmer has been helped by mortgage relief, better prices, reduction of surplus, revalued dollar; the laborer by higher wages, better working conditions, shorter working hours, abolition of child labor, and codes for industries; the consumer by consumer's councils, revalued dollar, home loans and the housing projects.

Now is the time for us to give our interest, our attention, our support to the leaders of our country. If we get out of this depression, it will be entirely through everybody's cooperation, not through a miracle man.

It is particularly fitting that students of high-school age should take an interest in the problems of our country. We will grow up some day and Dad will hand the reins to us. We must do a good job, inasmuch as the mistakes of our fathers brought us into this condition and we will either bring ourselves out, or we will bungle it at the cost of human suffering. There is a great challenge to the youth of today to become not only leaders, but men who will develop new standards.

When the chairman was forced to bring the discussion to a close and to summarize the opinions that had been interchanged, at least six to eight students were still on their feet ready to ask questions although the discussion period had lasted over an hour and the whole assembly over two hours. The audience felt as if the time spent had been interesting and profitable. This method used week by week throughout the school year, and culminating in the all school assembly, had more nearly developed a continuing interest in current topics and a tolerance toward various viewpoints than any plan I had ever used. Controversial issues were not shunned as all sides of the problems were given equally frank presentation. The panel forum procedure helped materially in fulfilling the objectives of the motto the students placed above my blackboard: "Let us Abolish Economic Illiteracy." The whole program helped to develop a continuing interest in the economic, political, and social problems of modern life.

The New Order and the Social Studies

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Perhaps no period of equal length in peace-time history has attracted more attention and provoked more speculation in both domestic and foreign realms than that of the last eighteen months within the United States. Irrespective of its influence and the ultimate effect it will have upon our national thinking and traditions, there can be no denying the fact that it has played the stellar rôle in the contemplations of the people of this country in recent months. Wherever people gather—the civic club, the classroom, the national forums, the market place, the barber shop, the drug store, the street corner, the crossroads store—it is the chief topic of conversation. It has been the "hot news" for the press and the favorite topic of the public speaker.

But, as is to be expected in a democracy such as ours, there is no unanimity of opinion concerning the so-called New Deal. Some look upon it as a timely and life-saving gift from above. Others are as positive that the gift was conceived in Russia instead of the upper regions. Despite the fact that the issue is a controversial one and still hangs somewhat in the mist of inference, most people are ready to admit that fundamental and perhaps far-reaching changes have been wrought in our political, social, and economic life. It is rather generally felt that the country is on the frontier of an era that is destined to witness the demise of certain doctrines and theories which have long been accepted by the nation as sacrosanct and positive finalities.

The more enthusiastic proponents of the new order are confidently proclaiming governmental, social, and economic changes of revolutionary dimensions. They predict the complete extinction of many of our guiding and rigidly followed principles of the past. The economic wealth of the country is to serve no longer as the prey for the fittest. The sphere of individual liberty and conduct is to be materially reduced to the end that the masses may be given greater opportunities to participate in the more "abundant life" that the nation potentially affords. Our society is to merge into a collectivistic one. Predatory individuals and groups are to be chased from the thrones of materialistic eminence to make way for a more equitable distribution of wealth. The doctrine of *laissez faire* has become incompatible with the interest of the common man. Hence it is to be relegated to a by-gone era. Upon its ruins will be erected a policy that will stop at nothing short of national economic planning. If the full realization of the goal of the crusaders requires minute governmental regulation of the personal and economic factors of production, it will be forthcoming in the name of the masses and humanity.

Yet part of this program is visionary and will not be accepted at face value by the student of government and economics. Our history itself is evidence of the fact that evolution and not revolution is characteristic of American life. No far-

reaching sudden changes take place in our national order. By nature and tradition we are a conservative people, but we are not averse to change if it is brought about in an orderly manner. Again, we can call on the pages of history to show the mutability of our social and economic life. But the alteration of our thinking which leads to the acceptance of change comes slowly and gradually. Recent innovations in our government have not been sustained by overnight shifts in the thinking of the people. The New Deal in its practical application may be new, but in principle it is as old as the government itself. Thomas Jefferson was an ardent exponent of the same ideals in his fight for a free public-school system. Theodore Roosevelt had the same thing in mind in his courageous crusade for the Square Deal, and nothing less prompted Woodrow Wilson in his campaign for the New Freedom. But these statesmen lived during times that were not propitious for change. It required the reverses of a bitter economic depression plus the forceful and dynamic personality of a new leader to sever the country from its traditional moorings.

POSITION OF THE TEACHER

Granting that the stage is set for important changes in our philosophy of government, the teacher of the social sciences must understand and appreciate the background. A knowledge of the past with its ideals, its traditions, its successes, and its failures, is essential to the proper building for the present and the future. Clarity of thinking, a keen sense of evaluation, and a course of direction must constantly prevail. It may involve an alteration of the teacher's philosophy of the social sciences. If such is the case, then the question of aims and values will forge to the front for re-adjustment.

Events of the past year serve to work greater responsibilities upon the teacher of history, civics, or sociology. The difficulty is not wholly one of interpretation. The factors of evaluation and permanency are the ones that call upon the intelligence and judgment of the teacher. All the faculties at command must be summoned to the task. Before entering upon this task of supreme importance, clear-cut areas of contemplation and consideration must be isolated for definite treatment.

In the first place, it must be borne in mind that the Rooseveltian innovations in government have come about during a period of national emergency. An economic catastrophe with its consequent tensions in society and economics has afforded an abnormal background for the function of government. Are the actions of people similar in a period of normalcy and a period of emergency? The obvious answer to this question is the sign of the cross to the teacher. Periods of emergency require measures of emergency nature. The question then arises: what governmental actions of recent date signify permanent trends? The path to the answer to this question lurks with dangers. The perils of short-distanced appraisals are too well known. Time and perspective will be the bedrocks upon which final judgment must rest. An attempt to place a definite evaluation on conditions of contemporary times may be a task for the ambitious but not for the wise. However,

in the light of experience coupled with distinctive present trends, the teacher may find a springboard to project herself conservatively into the future. With moderation and caution, this course falls within the zone of the instructor's prerogative.

RELATION BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND SCHOOL

The relation between the government and the school has always been of a paradoxical nature. Due perhaps to the power of the former, the latter has served it in the capacity of a rubber stamp. The government—which is largely the work of the politicians, some good and some bad—has been held up by the school as an object of near perfection. In performing this task, the school has found willing and ready allies in outside organizations. Witness, for example, the large number of oratorical and essay contests held in the schools each year but sponsored by national, state, and community organizations. It will be admitted that in the main these contests are prompted by patriotic motives. Nevertheless, many are actuated solely as propagandizing agents.

The textbook writers have not been free altogether from the idea that the chief function of the school is to sell the government to the future citizens. There can be no objection to teaching patriotism if it is of the progressive type. Blind attachment to an institution, a document or a principle will serve no good purpose. The schools of Germany placed great emphasis on German patriotism during the decade before the World War. It was a blind patriotism which proved disastrous to the nation. Why should the teacher of history or civics teach respect and supine acquiescence to a phase of government that is obviously defective? Why should the teacher be passive in the formulation of our governmental principles and standards but active in making them popular after they are instituted by wise or unwise politics?

If it is to be admitted that the school should play an active rôle in the formation of standards of government, why then should it not become a question of what part of the New Deal the school would like to make permanent? By his actions, the President of the United States tacitly admits that the past of the mental competence of the nation is found within the confines of the classroom. Would it seem preposterous to say that the classroom should determine the principle while the government conforms. To accept this philosophy would no doubt involve a contest of no little significance. A show-down between the teacher and the professional politician is a game that neither party likes to play. Judging from the past, the teacher would suffer the disadvantage. Are conditions at present propitious for a victory by the former?

It seems rational, therefore, to conclude that the teacher should be more concerned about whether we ought to go rather than whether we are going. In this respect, the teacher is not left altogether in a maze of uncertainty. Certain visible signboards are occurring at frequent intervals along the path. These signs have been in the making for decades and are not the product of an ephemeral present.

For the teacher who is trying to find her sense of direction, valuable aids may be found in the recent report of the Commission on the Social Studies in the Schools.¹ This Commission, sponsored by the American Historical Association and composed of some of the leading educators of the country, spent five years in an intensive study of the subject. Following are a few of its conclusions:

1. In the United States as well as in other countries, a collectivistic society is replacing an individualistic one.
2. The actual integrated economy of the present day is the forerunner of a consciously integrated society in which individual economic action and individual property rights will be altered and abridged.
3. The country is in a state of transition.
4. Acquisitive individualism with all its cruder manifestations in gambling, speculation, exploitation, and racketeering is to be subdued to the requirements and potentialities of the emerging society.
5. The dangers of goose-step regimentation of ideas, culture, and invention must be avoided.

Doubtless, it will occur to the cautious that this report is somewhat positive and dogmatic. Taken at face value, one would conclude that a great change in our national life is imminent. It will be remembered, however, that the Commission's conclusions are not drawn from events of recent origin. Tendencies and trends over a period of years were studied carefully and their significance appraised.

If the report of the Commission is to be accepted by the social science teacher as indicative of "whether we are going," then there must be a recasting of the values of the materials of instruction. No longer will students be taught that "government is best that governs least." Instead they must be taught to expect more governmental regulation in economics and personal conduct than ever before in the history of the country. The necessity of this will be made clear by calling upon the present tensions in society, namely: "privation amid plenty; gross violations of fiduciary trusts; inequalities of income and wealth; excessive racketeering and banditry; waste of natural resources; unbalanced distribution of labor and leisure; harnessing of science to individualism in business; rampant private interest; maladjustment of production and consumption, and the accelerating tempo of panics in this country."

If the crowning principle of democracy is sound—the greatest good for the greatest number—and it requires a collectivistic society for its highest realization, then the teacher is obligated to "sell" such order to the future citizenship. Transfers of emphasis will likely become a necessity. Individual consciousness must become group consciousness. The goal of course is to be a circumvention in the future of the almost periodic tensions in society.

After the "frame of values" has been formulated, the task will become largely one of orientation. The term itself connotes the extinction of old habits and the

¹ *Conclusions and Recommendations of the Commission*. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1934.

acquisition of new ones. If the welfare of the common man is to be paramount during the emerging era, many old habits, philosophies, and accepted principles must become obsolete. Subject matter must take precedence over method.

Few there be among us who will not admit that there has been gross inequalities in the economic structure. According to President Roosevelt, the "country cannot exist half rich and half broke." It may require divergences from tried paths to remedy the evil. Limitations of wealth and incomes, inheritance taxes, unemployment and old-age insurance, and a permanent policy of direct relief may be in the offing. The teacher must be among the first to see and evaluate the possibilities.

And thus it becomes imperative that the teacher of social science finds a sense of direction amid the welter of proposed changes in the daily lives and activities of our people. Doubt and indecision will inevitably be fatal. For once in the life of the contemporary teacher, the recourse must be away from habits and in the direction of intelligence. As Professor Bode says, "there must be a cultivation of the fine art of relying on intelligence instead of continuing the habit of living by our habits." There must be born a "vision of excellence" toward which instruction in history, sociology, and economics must contribute. This will never come about as long as traditions, emotions, and a blind regard for ancient and outworn theories and principles serve as propelling forces in our thinking and actions.

Developing Pupils' Interest in Social Science*

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Stimulating interest or attention in any subject is rather a paradoxical undertaking. For example, of two given devices calculated to make social-studies' pupils in secondary schools return for another look, probably at least twice as many pupils would be intrigued by a wooden clock face as a means of visualizing the difference in time at various geographical points, as would at first pay much attention to a chart on immigration rates and distribution over a term of years. And yet, the subject matter of the chart contains far more material for application than that of the clock, and if well presented would result for most people in a comparatively lasting and fascinating store of related facts. This paradox of value-in-inverse-ratio-to-the-spectacular is one factor in the teacher's everlasting search for ways to secure that desirable combination of attention and eagerness which lifts recitations above the humdrum.

Ordinarily we meet with only two or three kinds of pupil interest. One is momentary, a more or less instinctive response to something that has suddenly appealed to an individual's curiosity, or pride, or fancy, or some other involuntary possession. On the teacher's part it may be a trick, a stunt, a twist of personality, even a "fake" bid for information or attention. I have seen spirited recitations on the Irish Famines ushered in by the unexpected question, "What is a potato, James?" and discussions of some economic depth brought forth by veiled requests for the monopolistic, manufacturing, advertising and luxury-goods implications hidden in the casual and extremely untrue phrase, "Free Air." There is also the useful device of stopping an assignment discussion just before the class has finished all it wanted to say in impromptu contribution. This is the ancient lure of the serial story and the comic strip—"To be continued in our next issue." But such uses are legitimate, not only because they afford welcome breaks in the routine, but also because they may be a step in building a real interest out of a passing one.

A second type of pupil interest not so casual in its origin we may label as spasmodic, since it lasts longer and is repeated at intervals, as needed. Its purpose is either to relieve dullness or combat indifference, and its nature is largely disciplinary, in the favorable sense of the term. I know that in this past decade of pupil choice, freedom of expression, individual child differences, and teacher guidance rather than direction, it has become somewhat old-fashioned to mention discipline. Nevertheless, the tactful teacher can make use of various types of pupil-participa-

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The author wishes to express his appreciation for the contributions of Messrs. John Daniels and Thomas Barham, members of the Social Studies Department of Senior High School.

tion devices to wake up the class or the individual that seems to be neglecting assignments, or otherwise sinking into the doldrums. One of the surest ways I know to bring a lagging class back to normal without preaching or nagging is by a definite five-minute exercise.

This type of written work is best used at the beginning of the period, to set the mood for the recitation or to direct the pupil's thought along a given line. It should always consist of a single question, and should have to do with the central point of the lesson. Soon the student learns to recognize and enjoy finding this issue without having it called for or shown to him. Good types of questions are:

Discuss what you consider the most important point of today's lesson.

Give the reasons for or against (any procedure under discussion.).

These one-page papers should be examined and returned to the class the day after the exercise. As you grade, you can note one or two exceptionally good papers, and write upon them the word "read." The same procedure can be applied to one or two unsatisfactory papers. Note also single sentences of apt phrasing or meaning in other papers. Write the word "read" in the margin beside these statements. This gives the author of a paper only slightly above average an occasional chance to shine. Inaccurate statements or misused words can be marked, and the word "ask" written in the margin beside these. In class, when the papers are returned, the students can follow these instructions, reading the marked papers and examples aloud. A series of these papers is effective.

But the ideal toward which we strive is sustained, or intellectual, interest. In this type, mental alertness, native abilities, potential developments—all the qualities that can make the student's adult life rich and colorful long after textbooks are discarded—are the materials with which we work. There could be scarcely a better time than the present to vitalize history, problems of democracy, civics and government, economics, and sociology, for in all these fields an unlimited supply of extra-textbook material is constantly being published in general periodicals available to teacher and pupils alike. Not only happenings but opinions on them and predictions of future happenings are legion.

MOTIVATING INSTRUCTION

What are social studies teachers doing with this abundance of material, and how are classes responding to the use they make of it? The wall exhibit, consisting of maps, scrapbooks, graphs, charts, projects, and research results, is a significant answer to this question. Practically every contribution made to the exhibit was stimulated by suggestion rather than by requirement. Many were original projects presented out of timeliness, or growing out of some special inclination or ability of an individual pupil, rather than to gain special credit. Today's high-school pupils should provide a fertile field in which to sow the seeds of the new social democracy and economy which we hope will some day emerge from all our present bewilderment.

Teachers of social studies have a duty to motivate these activities and stimulate

these attitudes. History is not simply a story; the civic studies are not just cataloged facts on governmental functions to be reviewed and pigeonholed in neat little compartments labelled problems of democracy, civics, and government; the scientific courses, economics and sociology, and perhaps geography, are not mere tedious researches by and about people and places remote from the pupils' lives. Not one of these studies really stands alone; and so close is the coördination between some of them that we find it hard to say where one ends and the other begins. As a result, to enliven one subject is usually to enliven at least another, and this is just what many forward-looking social studies teachers are attempting to do. The following brief reports of representative treatments show a decided tendency in this direction.

We owe it to our students to convince them, for one thing, that what we are asking them to study is really worthy of thought. Young people like to think. A special aim of the social studies, therefore, may be to acquaint the pupils with the prejudices that appear in print on every side, for some day they will have to act as citizens upon things they see and hear about only at second hand. To this end, newspaper discriminations may be brought out. One class was led to consider the front page and editorial page reactions of two leading local papers to the first Presidential message to Congress last January. One of these papers remarked the vagueness of the address; the other, the optimistic note. One paper gave a short editorial upon the topic; the other, a lengthy one. Similarly, the Carter Glass pre-election speech was reported on an inside page of the first paper; and verbatim, covering a full sheet with front-page headlines, by the second paper. When matters of national or state-wide significance are brought to the fore in the homes of the pupils, such matters may be discussed in class, the various aspects of the subject uncovered, and the pupils allowed to arrive at their own conclusions. Lynching is an illustration in point.

In classes devoting as much as one period a week to contemporary news, a question box is often advantageous. The pupils may place in the box questions on democratic problems that arise in their daily experience, and these may be used as a basis of class discussion, or may be assigned for general reading to be reported upon and discussed at a future date.

Speculation and investment principles is another problem, confronting Americans, that may be treated at length. This may be developed by showing the legitimate and illegitimate types of speculation, and may advance to a discussion of the market places where commodities and securities are handled. Market operations may be analyzed; commercial investments in stocks and bonds examined; and conservative types of investment in coöperative banks, credit unions, savings banks, and also insurance, may be reviewed. An excellent plan and assignment outline to bring this often neglected field of study within the practical needs of the high school student is given in the article: "Outline for a Practical Unit in Consumption Economics."¹

¹ Proctor W. Maynard. *The Historical Outlook*, XXIV (December, 1933), 456-459.

We want our pupils to realize that there is no easy route to learning the truth about problems. Practically all solutions should be tentative, and these reached by weighing evidence and conclusions gained by a measure of research and a realistic approach to the topic.

The time element is another factor which can be turned to good account in developing an interested and appreciative outlook toward the social studies. Thus, in a presidential year, discussions on politics should be introduced during the early autumn. Here in New England, an opportune time for studying taxation is prior to the town meeting. It is often advisable to develop the material on taxation beyond the usual textbook information, giving attention to state and local units as well as to the federal aspects of the topic. Facts and figures contained in the reports of the town, county, and Commissioner of Corporation and Taxation can be utilized; charts and graphs are helpful in familiarizing pupils with the interpretation of these statistics.

RELATIONS WITH PUPILS

In the last analysis, the one component element which cannot be overlooked in maintaining any of the forms of interest which we have reviewed is the personality factor. On the teacher's part, the habit of seeing the class as composed of individuals with likes and dislikes, with handicaps and personal problems often not concerned with school but reflecting themselves in school work, must be cultivated throughout the year. Time is saved, discouragement avoided, and interest quickened merely by taking a few hours at the beginning of the course to overcome mental hazards or preconceived ideas on the dryness or difficulty of a given subject, and by setting aside a few minutes at the beginning of each period to make sure that the requirements of the new assignment are definite and understood. The simple question of correct map-reading is often a stumbling-block to advancement in studies; we assume understanding, especially in regard to relief maps, where bewilderment exists. Why make drudgery of a potentially fascinating pursuit for want of a little thoughtful explanation? A large state outline map with county markings is very productive of research, and brings in an intriguing collection of local lore, the use of which may be correlated with bulletin board and scrap-book projects.

Another means of establishing the personal contact with the pupil is the special assignment in harmony with his own inclinations. The boy or girl with special interests in music will enjoy listening to music that has special meaning in the course and placing its significance. Popular music reflects many movements of nation-wide importance; "Over There" and "Brother, Can You Spare A Dime?" are modern examples. The amateur cartoonist and artist will welcome such a request as: What can you discover in the picture on page 65 that shows it is accurate? The pupil who thrills to the dramatic qualities of oral expression may be encouraged to read aloud an historical poem, part of a political oration, or an expression of idealism that kindles his imagination. The young person with writ-

ing or theatrical ambitions may like to keep a diary over a brief period, representing himself as some famous person, or otherwise impersonate some historical or living public character and interpret his character, principles, successes, and failures. How different individuals in the same era, or in different eras, have handled recurring public problems frequently intrigues the boy who sees himself in the future diplomatic service of his country. The writing of original editorials on various past and present issues lends itself to this type of treatment. Even the after-school "help session," so often allowed to degenerate into a punishment for delinquency and unfinished work, can provide opportunities for this same kind of sympathetic contact, in which the teacher checks up on individual problems of attitude and accomplishment.

Hence with the noticeable changes taking place in methods of controlling our social and economic life, with greater emphasis being placed upon the more direct contact of our individual pupils with the world outside, closer attention must be given by the teacher to pointed and wisely-selected methods for creating interest in political, social, and economic affairs.

What Part Should the School Play in Society?

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What can the schools do for society? The method and spirit of operating the public schools during the next few years must involve an answer to this question. The past fifteen years have witnessed an unprecedented expenditure for the institutions of public instruction; more pupils are attending secondary schools in the United States than in any country on earth; a comparatively high percentage of our population goes to college for one reason or another; our school buildings are a source of pride with us and put to shame many other buildings in the average community. What have we received in return?

We are supposedly the wealthiest nation on earth. We are blessed with more "things"—radios, automobiles, refrigerators, and motion-picture theaters—than are other people. We have more railroad mileage than have other countries; we have more gold than other countries; we have a "higher" standard of living than they have. Some of our present troubles are of American origin and must be treated as such, while others are rooted in the very nature or at least the excesses of the economic system under which we live. When it comes to respect for law and the administration of justice, we are pitifully behind the principal European nations. State and city government here leaves much to be desired. We have a great deal to learn about the conservation of life, whether through reforestation programs or through careful driving. Such conditions have paralleled the development of American education, and it is a sad fact that suggestions for improvement have not often enough come from the schools.

Is it therefore necessary for us to lose our faith in democratic education? Must we give up our devotion to democracy and the training of youth? Will we be forced to return to the theory that it is needful to educate only a few and leave to them—assuming that they have property—the direction of affairs? What part ought the schools play in the immediate future?

If we knew exactly what education is and what constitutes a good school, we might better be able to give an answer to these questions. Perhaps we have arrived at the place where we realize that a school is not an institution where children ought to be forced into passive and unreasoned obedience in matters of thought and conduct. A school ought to help a child develop within the framework of his own abilities and preferences, though this, of course, has its limitations. If a young boy has a fascination for airplanes, he ought to be encouraged to make an exhaustive study of the subject by the method of actual experimentation on his level of understanding. He should not be forced unduly into the mould required by a formal course of study.

Should a child be forced to read at a given age? That depends on whether he

has had enough experience to permit him to enjoy reading. If a group of youngsters becomes interested in nature, it ought to center its work for some time around that interest. To all of this no one could take serious exception.

Specialists in the teaching of the social studies have hammered away at the idea that the schools should set up surroundings in which pupils may work out solutions for the pressing problems of society. Civics has given way to problems of American democracy, and there has been a general and helpful break-down of unnatural distinctions between the various social sciences. There has been somewhat of a reaction against history because it was said not to function for the average pupil. These problems of democracy courses have not been altogether satisfactory, however, because the average community wants its pupils to deal with the problems of other cities and to get their examples of defective social policies from places not too near the home town. The average community would not object to a "problem-solving" course unless it brought the students to the place where they questioned its commonly accepted beliefs. Courses in the problems of democracy, if they are hampered by local prejudices, can be infinitely more innocuous than an enlightened course in history.

The "problem solvers" in education would do well to investigate some of the implications of their method. Any respectable system of instruction ought to force pupils into a ruthless analysis of their everyday beliefs and attitudes. If most of them are Protestants, they ought to be driven by the statement of the problem to find out why they are Protestants and why they would be worse off if they were not Protestants. A high school boy once said to his teacher that the Catholics were saving up rifles and ammunition for the future war in this country between Catholics and Protestants. When the suggestion was made that he might investigate the matter further so as to have more definite information on the subject, he said in substance, "I don't want to read about it. I'm convinced right now." Education had not functioned for that boy.

The problem-solving method should fear nothing in its path. Is nationalism a good thing? Is patriotism of the usual variety either necessary or helpful? Are patriotic organizations constructive? Are American standards of success valid? Pupils should not be hindered if their questionings lead to doubts as to the efficiency of cherished institutions, private property, constitutional government, religion, and democracy. No school should have an inherent right to keep teachers or students from investigating any of the fundamentals of our political and social organization. Such studies may bring out decided weaknesses; but they may reveal hidden strengths. And above all, they help to impress upon young people the idea that experimentation is the basis for progress in essentials.

Under this frank approach to civic and social questions, what will happen to the student's capacity for judging people? If the American philosophy of success is carefully investigated, the heroes of the 1920's will have to come up for judgment. If some of the well-known citizens of the town exemplify that philosophy, the more astute students will not fail to make the analysis. And the teacher? He would be wise to see the implications of this most dangerous kind of education.

If problem-solving of such a rigorous type is practised, it will be a rare community and a rare set of school officials that will permit it to continue. School administrators who in the past ten years have become adept in the art of cajoling the public into granting larger and larger budgets for buildings and for operating costs will be the last ones to permit a type of education that will in any way tread on the toes of the community or of the benefactors of the schools. This fact will almost inevitably result in the toning down of teaching into banal and hackneyed discussions, or in the development of groups that meet outside of the school and without its benediction.

It thus becomes evident that there are certain almost unavoidable limitations on education conducted by the people and for the people. It can hardly avoid indoctrination by implication and by moratoria on the discussion of certain dangerous issues. If the people of a town are convinced that the universe came into being by the fiat of a personal god, the door to discussion is automatically closed in practise, for why should children question beliefs that the public knows to be right? The condition is similar when attitudes involving race relations are put under the microscope. If the public schools are training people for life in the community, why should the product not be satisfactory to the community? Some Protestants dislike the statement of the more orthodox groups to the effect that science must be untrammelled in its investigations but must not come to any conclusions contrary to the accepted body of dogma. Does not the public often place a similar limitation on the schools? If a university student learns to think for himself and in the process chances to become somewhat radical, do not many voices say that state money should not be used for "the training of Bolsheviks"?

At times one wants to think that the teacher is the salvation of the schools because if he is a forward-looking person, he can stimulate his pupils to creative living while the principal and the superintendent are dealing with matters of policy and finance. But alas, the teachers are in the large the products of the community and are quite content to teach the faith of the fathers.

Educators have an almost lyric faith in the public school system. They have seized the statement that we are in a race between education and catastrophe. They sponsor such methods as the sales tax for the support of education not because they believe in the sales tax but because they believe in education; all this is spite of the fact that the sales tax is far from an ideal method of financing the activities of the state. It is safe to say that the idealism of educators is strangely mixed with the desire that the graduates of teachers' colleges shall not fail to find jobs.

What, then, may we expect public schools to do for us in this crisis? We ought to demand that they do well the task of teaching the fundamental skills needed by all people, and the skills of certain trades to those who wish to enter them, though we must be sure to take account of the constantly shifting practises in the various lines of work. The schools should help to reveal to the students the relation of their work to the larger social situation. We should ask the schools to supplement, and sometimes it has to take the place of, the homes in such matters as the development of honesty and fair play in the pupils. A good school ought to do much

to raise the level of artistic and literary taste among young people; it should prove to be a powerful antidote for the aesthetic diet of the average run of motion-picture and radio programs.

And what of the curriculum? We must not succumb to the convenient theory that if we fix up a course that provides for a study of the pressing problems of society, we have thereby made definite progress. A perfect course of study passes from the curriculum committee into the hands of an enlightened teacher who does his best to use it according to the essential principles of progressive education. Soon, perhaps, he finds that the administration is under pressure from the school board or from some organization whose duty seems to be to protect the sacred American institutions. It may be that the principal feels that students ought to deal with vital issues, but like many preachers he dares not live according to his convictions. And it may be that both the principal and the teacher are blind followers of the crowd in their thought processes. But why push the matter further? If conditions such as these are typical, and observation convinces one that they are, what hopes may we entertain of such a thoroughgoing laboratory dissection of our institutions as will provide information for the sketch of a planned society?

But let us suppose for the sake of argument that such a sketch were possible. Would the schools be able to coöperate in putting it into effect? The schools are in the long run democratically controlled, ruled by the rank and file of unthinking or dogmatically determined people, or by those who are the leaders of the property-holding groups. It is an ironic fact that the schools of the United States were not leaders in producing the present changes in the attitude of the government toward business. Rather, it seems to be the problem of social science teachers to get their courses reorganized in such a way as to take account of the new developments. It seems that for real economic leadership, we must look to those classes in society that are endeavoring through political and economic action to bring about a society which will provide a square deal for the heretofore less favored people. Though we cannot expect much leadership from the schools along this line, we must demand that they attempt to inculcate correct habits of thinking, freed in so far as humanly possible from unreasonable prejudices. And we may hope that there will always be some pupils who will be able to get the essential meaning from thoughtful teaching, and that some teachers with a forward-looking attitude will be able by a combination of diplomacy, sagacity, and even occasional subterfuge to help the better pupils to do daringly original thinking and living, so that society in the future will not lack for constructive and truly educated leaders.

The Good Citizen

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Did you grow up in an environment where the current political philosophers told you that if you spoke or wrote about crookedness in politics, people would agree with you, but in a bored way? "It has more or less always been that way. Perhaps it always will be . . ." You know, then, how such a community was spasmodically jarred by those movements of reform instituted by what the regulars were wont to call the "goo-goos" (good government groups) and how, but much less noisily, all of the wheels of community government slipped back into the well-oiled grooves of party politics. And, after all, what difference did it make?

Imperceptibly, this situation has been changing. Several years ago youth, always the reservoir of renewed political power, made cynical comments about the "come hither" looks which beckoned from all sides. So long had the "ins" been painted villainously black and the "outs" virtuously white. But when the "outs" became the "ins," how miraculously they both changed color! So, in many places, with a casual "We don't fall for *your* line," youth turned its back at the politician of any shade, snapped its fingers, and said "— *that* for you." With the era of cynicism past, however, there sprang up in the several cities of the country small groups from which little has been heard until lately. The one in New York City, called Coöperation-in-Government, Inc., is now the most widely known of these organizations. Self-governing, self-perpetuating, self-supporting, as a political group it is unique in many ways.

Thomas Jefferson said that the purpose of public education was "to know what is going on, and to make each his part go right." Washington wanted it for "an enlightened opinion on self-government." If the schools have not betrayed their trust, and a long and not inglorious career hints that they have not, what better place could be found for recruiting a body of fine citizens than the public schools? Coöperation-in-Government members are the cream of this crop. Each commencement in the high schools of the city sees one young man or one young woman chosen from each thousand of the school population for membership in Coöperation-in-Government, Inc. To stand out as one in a thousand requires distinction. These young people possess this quality.

We have long been accustomed to commencements in praise of those who have mastered better than the rest the Latin and the Greek, the mathematics and the physics of the academic curriculum. It is only within the last ten years that we find public mention being made of those who have practiced better than the rest the art of citizenship in a community. Now the outstanding commencement award in the high schools of New York City is the Frank A. Rexford Medal for Coöperation-in-Government. To earn this award, these youngsters have worked hard—not merely to get the medal, for in most schools its existence is an unadvertised

fact. In schools where the registration runs up to ten thousand students, there is plenty of work for eager youth. There are literary and art magazines to be printed, after they have been written and edited. There are traffic squads to divert the crowds of milling thousands. There is clerical work in sorting and filing, in typing and alphabetizing. There are students' programs of work to be talked over with older students. There are campaigns for the preservation of school property to be developed and carried out. Clubs for recreational and scholastic activities must have leaders for their projects. General Organizations have charge of all student activities and of the collection and expenditure of thousands of dollars; they are manned entirely by students under faculty supervision. Slower students must be guided; teachers burdened with work laid heavily upon them by the demands of economy look to the better students to help them in this work. In all these ways the young people in the schools have mastered the first precept of good citizenship—conspicuous service inconspicuously rendered. More than that, they have actually participated in the government of their own school communities; in the give and take of school elections; in the management of people and of money, they have learned the technique of politics in a democracy. Many of them have learned to be alert and interested followers; some few have become able leaders.

Having thus selected the chosen few, Coöperation-in-Government, Inc., asks them to do one thing—"Keep it up!" This sounds like a noble sentiment, for it slides glibly from the tongue. But what a job it is!

Eager minds and willing bodies are easily enticed by the idealistic phrases of fervent orators. One of the first purposes, then, of this organization is to show that there is no one way to a political Utopia, unless that way be by the interested participation of the whole citizenry. The fanaticism of a Republican who can see nothing of value in the Socialists' program, or of a Democrat who prayerfully calls damnation down upon the head of all Communistic endeavor, is just as harmful as the lethargy and indifference of a calloused mind. To prove this fact to the youth of seventeen to twenty is to have set them on a path that leads from action stirred by passion to action supported by reason. How is it done? Coöperation-in-Government, Inc., holds its membership as a forum where groups of any political bias may express their views. Its Board of Directors always reserves the right to ask that the opposing views be presented before the same audience. By neither straw vote nor resolution is the entire membership of over four thousand ever committed to any one policy other than that of impartiality.

On the other hand, it would be a foolish policy to ask the most promising of the city's youth to stand, like the ass who starved because the two bales of hay from which he was equidistant were equally luscious, and sanctimoniously refuse to join with any group. For that reason, the second purpose of Coöperation-in-Government, Inc., is to urge each member to become actively aligned with some organization serving a political end. The spread before him is the political fare from which he may choose. Coöperation-in-Government, Inc., is interested in knowing only that he does choose, that he chooses intelligently, and that, having

chosen, he renders more than lip service to the program. Closely associated with this idea of encouraging a definite political stand is the group's belief that it is often the non-partisan organization that leaves a lasting impression on communities and on politics. Members become acquainted with this type of association by listening to leaders in this work, by participating in the activities of the group itself. The League for Political Education, with headquarters at Town Hall, heads the list of non-partisan groups with which the members of Coöperation-in-Government, Inc., are associated.

Nothing, of course, so stimulates an active and constructive citizenship as meeting and knowing people whose public service stands out in the world as "big." A third justification for the existence of Coöperation-in-Government, Inc., is that it seeks to develop that understanding between youth and its elders which results in the best kind of traditionalism. On the Advisory Board of the group have been such well known names as Lawrence Abbott, George Gordon Battle, Harold G. Campbell, Henry Goddard Leach, Mrs. Henry Moscowitz, Lyman Beecher Stowe, Lionel Sutro, Philip Warner, and Richard Welling. Recent additions to the Board have included more youthful names, names of the younger people who have blazed the trail into active participation in the political scene—Joseph D. McGoldrick, former Comptroller of New York City; Pearl Bernstein, Secretary of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment; and Dorothy Straus, eminent lawyer. In addition, this group seeks and recognizes by an Adult Award those men and women whose quiet, forceful civic service was inspired in a New York City school room many years ago. By coming to know these people, by working with them, the young members of Coöperation-in-Government, Inc., learn to know the meaning of real public service, perhaps even to perform it themselves.

These associations with men and with movements are the means by which this growing body of young men and young women plan to mold the society of their generation. They hope that they will be saved, not the pain of working out their own destiny, but the accusation, "You did it all so heedlessly!"

How well they will succeed in their endeavor is indicated, perhaps, by their clear recognition that theirs is not a one-year or even a five-year program. It has taken the New York City group twelve years to grow to an appreciable size and to wield, through the members that have grown to adulthood, any influence in the community. But a power of initiative, a willingness to assume responsibility, and an ability to carry a project through are no small forces when they are alive in a community for twenty, thirty, and fifty years. They are the forces that make for good citizenship.

Current Events in World Affairs

GEORGE H. E. SMITH

The League of Nations Gains Prestige At the Turn of the Year Outside the League The Lines of Battle in the United States

Emerging from the obscurity of disappointment which had marked its efforts throughout the better part of 1934, the League of Nations entered the center of the world stage in the last quarter and closed the year with a flourish of achievements which gained for it the plaudits of observers far and wide. The League's handling of the Saar question and of the Yugoslav-Hungarian dispute is especially marked for the implications it holds for the future development of peaceful international relations.

Relieving the Tension in Southeastern Europe. Incensed over the death of King Alexander, aggravated by terrorist activities which she charged came across the border from Hungary, and fearful of sustained attempts to upset the territorial settlements of the peace treaties, Yugoslavia had taken drastic action in her own behalf. Even though the dispute between them was in the hands of the League by Yugoslavia's demand for an investigation and Hungary's reply, Yugoslavia commenced to expel large numbers of the 27,000 Hungarians residing on sufferance within Yugoslav territory. As the stream of refugees crossing the frontiers increased, popular feeling on both sides of the border became inflamed over the circumstances attending the enforced migration. Clashes between Yugoslav and Hungarian troops became imminent. The tension was at its height when the Council of the League took hold of the situation on December 10, 1934.

Informal conversations among the members, especially those between M. Laval, French foreign minister, Captain Anthony Eden, British Lord Privy Seal, and Baron Pompeo Aloisi of Italy, and various combinations of these key men with others interested, were carried on throughout the day. At the public session of the Council held in the afternoon, Nicholas Titulescu of Rumania, Eduard Benes of Czechoslovakia, Boske Jiftich of Yugoslavia, and Tibor Eckhardt of Hungary, presented the views of their governments on the matter at issue. Through the pressure brought to bear by the Great Powers, or because the action had served its intended purpose or for other reasons, Yugoslavia ceased the deportation of Hungarians, and the border tension was greatly relieved. By midnight, conciliation of the dispute was sufficiently far advanced to bring agreement on a draft resolution designed to end the controversy.

The Resolution finally adopted was characteristic of League decisions in cases where there is much to be said on all sides of the dispute and where a hard and fast decision is politically unwise. In carefully worded phrases, cast in a form something like a preamble, the Council deplored and condemned the crime which resulted in the violent deaths of King Alexander and Louis Barthou, and took the position that all those responsible should be punished. It declared it to be the duty of each State neither to encourage nor tolerate in its territory any terrorist activity; and that every State must do all in its power to prevent such acts. Coming to the actual issue, the Council stated that "certain Hungarian authorities may have assumed, at any rate through negligence,

certain responsibilities relative to acts having connection with the preparation of the Marseilles crime." Then, convinced of the goodwill of the Hungarian Government to perform its duty "to take at once appropriate punitive action in the case of any of its authorities whose culpability may have been established," the Council requested it "to communicate to the Council the measures it takes to this effect." In the same resolution, a committee of ten was set up to study the question of terrorist activities with a view to drawing up an international agreement to deal with such activities in the future.

The League as an institution and the Council's action has been hailed because it practically compelled a resort to peaceful procedure for the settlement of an international dispute, provided a safety valve to ease the tension, focused world forces and opinions at a single point where they could operate most effectively, avoided the flood of rumors and secret actions which on past occasions surrounded such disputes, provided a flexible instrument for settling complex difficulties, avoided affronts to the pride of the disputants, and provided the basis for a constructive international action toward minimizing threats to peace through terrorist action.

Much of what has been claimed for the settlement is true. The League took hold of an alarming situation and in surprisingly short order relieved a tension which contained explosive forces sufficient to sustain months and even years of war. Yet too much must not be expected of an institution which must confine itself to compromise solutions such as the one in this case. Future cases may not yield to a neat formula in which each of the contending parties gets part satisfaction of its demands. Moreover, the success of the present compromise will not be complete until Hungary reports to the Council to the satisfaction of Yugoslavia. Furthermore, the Council's settlement prevented surface trouble over the deeper issues which lay back of the dispute, but did little to bring about a positive permanent solution. The territorial and other issues between Hungary and the nations of the Little Entente remain, and they may crop out again in the future. And yet, each case that yields to peaceful settlement through League machinery, no matter how temporary it may be, serves to build up a precedent in favor of applying peaceful solutions of international conflicts rather than resorting to war. In time, these precedents may be so overwhelmingly persuasive of the advantages of peaceful methods that world opinion may outlaw war in fact as it has done already in theory.

An International Army. The second notable achievement of the League was its handling of the Saar question. Ever since the close of the World War the Saar Territory, an area of some 730 square miles lying on the new boundary between Germany and France, has been administered by a League governing commission for the benefit of France as well as in the interests of the inhabitants of the area who were to have the privilege after 15 years to vote to return to Germany, become French, or continue under the League. This vote was scheduled to take place January 13, 1935. For months before there had been considerable alarm in Europe over the situation. Propaganda campaigns to influence the vote one way or another caused fear and unrest. Trouble was expected over the economic and political relations between the Saar and the several European nations interested in the area.

The League met the situation with great skill and thoroughness. At the Rome meeting on December 3, of its Saar Plebiscite Committee, composed of Pompeo Aloisi of Italy, presiding officer, Lopez Olivan of Spain, and Jose Maria Cantilo of Argentina, the French and German ambassadors came to an understanding of the various economic

and political questions connected with the situation. The agreement contained a plan of combining cash payments with other compensating arrangements to the extent of 900,000,000 French francs by which Germany could reimburse France for the Saar mines and other outstanding credits; and also provided guarantees to protect the Saarlanders in the event the Territory is returned to Germany as is expected. When the League Council met at Geneva on December 5, the Saar Committee reported this agreement together with recommendations for handling the situation before and after the January vote.

With feeling running high in France, Germany, and in the Saar Territory, the question of maintaining order and assuring a fair vote was of immediate importance. The situation was met in a dramatic way and by an arrangement entirely new in the history of the League. At the Council meeting, Mr. Laval declared that since the Saar question was not a Franco-German affair, but an international matter, France preferred that the League Council assume the responsibility of keeping order with the aid of an international force excluding both French and German troops. Speaking for Great Britain which had previously been reluctant to join an international force, Captain Anthony Eden agreed that in the circumstances it was the duty of the Council to maintain order during the plebiscite period, that this could best be done by an international force which should not include troops of either of the two parties concerned, and that Great Britain would contribute "a suitable proportion of such an international force" provided France and Germany agreed. Both parties consenting, arrangements immediately went forward for the organization of an international force solely under the command of the League acting through the Saar governing commission. The League "army," fixed by the Council at 3300 men, was composed of 1500 British regulars, 1300 Italians, and 250 each from the Netherlands and Sweden.

In many senses this body of troops represents a true international force. It is under the command of officers responsible only to the League authorities; its powers are wide enough to take in everything necessary to carry out an international duty on an international question; the expenses connected with it are covered through the League machinery; it is exempt from the local courts; and its detachment from the countries supplying the contingents is as complete as it is possible to achieve in the present stage of international organization. Troops began moving into the Saar shortly before Christmas and headquarters were set up at Saarbruecken with Major General John S. Brind, British commander-in-chief of the joint forces.

Further precautionary steps were also taken. The use of flags by various groups in their activities in the area was curtailed. In an effort to prevent the influx of troublesome persons the borders of the Territory were closed to all persons except those who had urgent business in the area or required passage across its frontiers. Saarlanders, French and Germans, who move across the frontiers regularly because of employment and other reasons, were required to secure special identification cards; while foreigners were compelled to obtain special permits from Geoffrey G. Knox, British head of the governing commission at Saarbruecken. A careful perusal of the daily reports of acts done by the League commission leaves but little room for doubt that every precaution possible has been taken to insure a free and fair vote by the inhabitants of the area.

It must not be overlooked that the interests of many nations, operating in devious ways, combined to force a peaceful settlement of the Saar question; but this does not detract from the significance of the part played by the League. There is sufficient justification to read into the record all the enthusiastic acclaim which has attached to the

League's actions. On other occasions over the past fifteen years the League has acted to preserve peace and insure solutions of disputes between nations. Some of these efforts have been successful and others failed. But the present occasion is unusual for many reasons. It is the first instance where the League has consistently taken and maintained a determined effort to handle a thorny international problem from start to finish. It held to this course even though its fifteen years of administration of the area was full of grave difficulties. The solution will be a positive one likely to result in a peaceful disposition of an important piece of territory in accord with law rather than military force. This alone may set up the precedent for the solution of other territorial adjustments which ought to be made but cannot be accomplished because of the upsetting elements that always enter when the parties in interest are left to themselves. International forces of various kinds have been used before, but in few cases were these forces free from the motives of self-interest of the nations taking part in them. Policing the Saar is concededly a difficult task, but if no serious incident upsets the undertaking, this employment of an international "army" may well mark a turning point in the history of international relations—the point where genuine collective action in behalf of a peaceful solution of an international problem supplanted the armies which in the past served each nation's interests alone, or those of a special group, with all the dangers for war such a course invited.

But while there is much to be hopeful about in such a development of international affairs as the Saar question marks, too much must not be expected to follow immediately. The Saar question had always been entrusted to the League by both France and Germany. Although important and much desired by both these nations, the area had not become a sore spot such as had Alsace Lorraine; and the economic, political, religious and racial problems involved were not so deep rooted in character as to overrule reason and justice. World opinion had been massed solidly behind the League's jurisdiction and its method of handling the problem. The majority of the people of the Territory are of a high caliber and were inclined to coöperate with the League authorities. Finally, it must be said to the credit of the several nations which had a hand in the settlement, particularly France and Germany, that all of them showed a fine spirit of the will to peace which went a long way to relieve the tensions in the Territory and make the League's efforts possible. Future questions between nations may not have the happy combination of so many circumstances tending toward peace. But whatever happens on the vote and the disposition of the Territory afterward, the record of the effort of the League in recent months will remain both as an example and an inspiration for the peaceful settlement of international controversies in the future.

At the Turn of the Year Outside the League. Japan's termination of the Washington Naval Treaty of February, 1922, by formal announcement at the close of the year, was heralded so long in advance of the event that it scarcely caused a ripple to disturb international waters. With the naval arms discussion at London ended, there was no occasion to strike the pose of alarm at the prospect of an immediate armaments' race. None is likely to follow during 1935 at least, but there will be a more realistic appraisal of the international naval situation during the year. The positions of the several naval powers will be further clarified as to aims and requirements, and each nation will quietly move in the direction of bringing its existing fleet to the maximum of efficiency. This will be likely to be accompanied by much talk of proposed ship-building programs, and by exhibitions of naval strength such as is implied in the recent announcement of the United States that it will hold the most elaborate of its naval manoeuvres in the

Pacific during the coming year. The nations now have two years in which to lay the groundwork for another formal conference, although they may get together at an earlier date since the London meeting had adjourned *sine die* leaving the way open. Meanwhile the much-feared naval race is more likely to take the form of a bluffing race which is almost as dangerous because of its effect upon public opinion.

In Russia executions still continue in ostensible punishment of the murderers of Sergei Kiroff, high communist official. From December 1, when the deed was committed, to the close of the year some 117 persons were executed according to official reports. Wholesale punishments of this character cannot do otherwise than imply that the murder was a symptom of unrest and dissatisfaction with the government, and that the punishments by execution of so many people constitute a drive against internal opponents, a move very similar to the "purge" of June, 1934, in Germany.

Both Italy and Germany continue to move increasingly in the direction of a managed economy as watertight as the limits of government power and control will permit. In Germany, where the movement has gone farthest, there is much privation owing to the scarcity of raw materials which formerly came to the country from outside its borders; but no actual starvation or distress has been found by competent observers. The whole movement throughout the world in the direction of greater national self-sufficiency is still in the transition stage despite the fact that it has spread rapidly since 1929. The belief is quite common that 1935 will see either a turn finally toward the utmost self-sufficiency by all nations of the world, or a break in the jam of international trade which will restore world commerce to the position it enjoyed before tariff barriers, quotas, licenses and other restrictions cut down its flow. Too much stock must not be placed in either of these turns of events. Economic and political development rarely moves in definite dramatic extremes such as these beliefs indicate. It is more likely that events will move in both directions toward managed economies within each nation which through management will find abundant opportunities to get past trade barriers to increase the flow of international trade at the same time. In short, 1935 should see the beginning of a stage where national economies and international trade will move toward harmony and greater smoothness in the practical operations required of both when in combination. And such a development holds great promise for the welfare of the peoples of all nations.

France continues to clarify her relations with other European nations. On December 6 she signed a protocol with Russia which looks toward the hope of reaching a settlement on eastern European affairs, with Germany returning to the League under conditions paralleling somewhat the Locarno Pact. Toward the close of the year France also moved definitely in the direction of an understanding with Italy on European affairs. Great Britain, as well as the other nations owing sums of money to the United States, failed to pay the installments due on December 15. Of the \$150,000,000 due, only \$228,538 was paid; and that by Finland, the only nation not in default on its obligations to the United States.

The Lines of Battle in the United States. With the opening of the 74th Congress, the lines of battle in the United States are commencing to emerge from the confusion wrought by the initial momentum of the recovery program. Business continued to voice a desire to cooperate with the Government and Congress; but in setting forth its program for a revised NRA, for a clarification of relations with labor, and in indicating its attitude toward government activities and the programs of relief and social security, business reveals the lines along which it differs from the aims of the recovery program

and on which the fight in Congress for new legislation will turn. Perhaps the most potent argument in favor of putting the brakes on the recovery program lies in the mounting tax burden which has now reached the stupendous total for the United States of approximately ten billion dollars annually. Over the past few years the use of the sales tax has increased steadily with New York City the latest to fall in the list of these levies. Half of the States of the Union now have general sales taxes. In addition, the nation as a whole, through the operation of processing taxes in support of agriculture, bears a heavy burden for the support of government and the wide network of activities designed to bring about recovery.

On other fronts the lines of opposition between various groups and interests appear clearer too. The private power interests are still the object of heavy attack. The national government shows no inclination to let up on the giant power projects begun in the Tennessee Valley and in Washington and Oregon. Moreover, the prospect of securing a revised treaty on the St. Lawrence Waterway Program and its ratification by the present Senate appear very favorable. Smarting under these threats of government opposition, and of such competition as is implied in the recent proposal in New York City for municipal power plants, the private power interests have taken the new line of seeking to come to an understanding with public authorities through various schemes calculated to lower electric rates to consumers. In the interests of millions of small investors across the country who would suffer by government displacement of private power enterprises, it is more than likely that the offer of coöperation will be given serious consideration by public authorities. Much will then depend upon the sincerity of the private power groups.

Enough disclosures of reprehensible tactics of private munitions makers has been brought out in the recent Washington hearings to insure some legislation on this subject in the present Congress. Undoubtedly it will take the form of a legislative attempt to "take the profit out of war" which will amount, in fact, to an extension of the government's power to take over private enterprises in time of war if necessary to keep profits down to a fixed maximum. That is, this is the way the legislation is likely to operate in fact owing to the complexities of determining costs and profit rates. In 1934, Agriculture started back up the ladder of mounting income for the products it turns out. Farm income rose from five billion dollars in 1933 to six billion dollars in 1934. Much of this increase came about as a result of the reduction of surpluses and the programs of crop control which had the effect of raising prices. Cash subsidies in the form of rental and benefit payments augmented the farmers' income. The organization of agricultural producers and the permanence of crop control programs seem to be definitely marked for continuance in the future. On referendums among tobacco and cotton producers the sentiment of the farmers for crop control was overwhelming. In the political arena, the Republican party still flounders on setting its course for the future, with liberal groups, young republicans, staunch conservatives, and other factions seeking expression of their views in an effort to acquire an efficient control of the party mechanisms.

Aside from maintaining its position on the naval armament question, in foreign affairs the United States gained the benefit of French ratification of the double tax treaty which will save American business approximately \$120,000,000. Early in December the United States accepted the League's invitation to be represented on the supervisory commission to be set up to deal with the Chaco dispute in South America.

Recent Happenings in the Social Studies

BY COMMITTEE ON CURRENT INFORMATION OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR
THE SOCIAL STUDIES

HOWARD E. WILSON, *Chairman, Harvard University*

NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR THE SOCIAL STUDIES

The National Council for the Social Studies held meetings in Washington, D.C., on Saturday, December 29, 1934. In the morning, a panel group consisting of Merle Curti, Howard K. Beale, William A. Hamm, W. G. Kimmel, and Roy O. Hughes, discussed the question, "Can academic freedom be secured for social-studies teachers in secondary schools?" Although there was general agreement that academic freedom is desirable but does not now exist widely, the discussion brought out a variety of points of view toward a solution of the difficulties involved. Suggestions were made for the organization of committees of scholars and of professional workers in various fields to support teachers whose rights and obligations of free speech are impaired, and for the closer local and regional organization of teachers themselves in order that they may present a united front against the abridgement of freedom.

At a luncheon session, jointly sponsored by the American Historical Association and the National Council, a group of people commented extemporaneously on the *Conclusions and Recommendations* of the Commission on the Investigation of the Social Studies.

In the afternoon Roy A. Price, of the North High School, Quincy, Massachusetts, reported briefly on the work of the committee of which he is chairman, which has been investigating the use of magazines and newspapers in social-studies classrooms. His report is to be continued at the meetings of the National Council in February. At the business meeting, the following officers for 1935 were elected: President, Edgar B. Wesley, University of Minnesota; First Vice-President, Roy O. Hughes, Department of Curriculum Research, Pittsburgh; Second Vice-President, Elmer Ellis, University of Missouri; Secretary-Treasurer, Bessie L. Pierce, University of Chicago.

The next meetings of the National Council are scheduled for February 23, 1935, at Atlantic City, New Jersey, in connection with the annual meetings of the Department of Superintendence. The July meetings, in connection with the National Education Association, are to be held in Denver, Colorado. It is proposed, also, that the National Council hold a two-day session on the Friday and Saturday following Thanksgiving. Such a meeting would be similar to the regular meetings of the National Council of English Teachers. The President, Edgar B. Wesley, will be glad to receive suggestions from members of the Council concerning the proposal.

FEBRUARY MEETINGS OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL

Attention is called to the program of meetings of the National Council for the Social Studies in Atlantic City on Saturday, February 23, 1935, which is printed in this issue of *THE SOCIAL STUDIES*. The morning session should be of particular interest to elementary-school teachers and to superintendents of schools. Edgar Dawson is to talk at a luncheon meeting on the history of the National Council. The afternoon meet-

ing is devoted to discussion of the 1935 *Yearbook* and addresses at the dinner meeting will be given by the Presidents of the Council for 1934 and 1935. All who are interested in the teaching of the social studies are invited and urged to attend all meetings.

METHODS AND MATERIALS IN ADULT EDUCATION

A research project in *Methods and Materials in Adult Education* is being carried on under the auspices of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration and the Illinois Emergency Relief Commission. One outgrowth of the project is a series of lessons on social problems.

These lessons are designed for use with adult groups who may or may not have enjoyed the privilege of high-school and college training. The attempt is made in each lesson to use adult ideas but language sufficiently simple that practically any adult can understand. Each lesson is illustrated with charts and diagrams.

Most lessons include the following elements: (1) an overview of the problem; (2) a list of questions; (3) selected paragraphs that supplement the overview; (4) an explanation of new terms that are used in the lesson; and (5) a bibliography giving pertinent references for those who desire to pursue the problem further.

The following lessons are completed and ready for distribution:

What Hope for the Jobless? (15 cents)

Must We Spend Our Way Back to Prosperity? (10 cents)

Enjoy Your Money—Future Investments Limited (10 cents)

The American Farmer—Citizen or Serf? (15 cents)

Forthcoming titles include:

Security for the Masses

Our Economic Jig-Saw Puzzle

Why We Are Interested in Electric Power

The Soldiers' Bonus—To Pay or Not to Pay

Machines—For Us or Against Us

The Machine and the Farmer

Unemployment Insurance

From a Farm to a Job

Inquiries and orders should be addressed to Clem O. Thompson, Director, Educational Research Project Fifteen, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.

CONSUMER EDUCATION

In "Consumer Education in the Secondary School," appearing in the December, 1934, number of the *School Review*, Leonard V. Koos reports the results of careful inquiry made into the extent and nature of consumer education in the social studies and other courses of the secondary-school curriculum. The evidence presented by the author prompts the conclusion that there is little recognition in the social studies of important aspects of consumer education and that "there has been no notable tendency in recent years to increase that recognition," despite the fact that the social studies may be regarded as an appropriate avenue of consumer education.

While on the subject of consumer education, it might be appropriate to mention again the work of Consumers' Research, Inc. Consumers' Research, which was organized

in 1929, wishes to serve all who desire expert professional advice on the goods and services they buy, and economists, teachers, and students of the social studies who wish to keep abreast of the new knowledge of consumption economics. Consumers' Research now announces a new combined service which will include five *Confidential Bulletins*, four *General Bulletins* (not confidential), and the *Annual Handbook of Buying*, which summarizes previous listings of commodities and services. The charge for one year is \$3.00. Subscriptions should be sent to Consumers' Research, Inc., Washington, New Jersey.

AN EDITORIAL

An editorial appearing in the *Social Studies Leaflet* for December, 1934, published by the Southern California Social Science Association, seems worthy of quotation. "We rise to speak on behalf of that small band of teachers who in every school keep their shoulder to the wheel," writes the editor. "They carry a heavy load of classes; they know their children as individuals; they direct clubs, sponsor 'extra-curricular' activities, keep their fingers on the pulse of the school; they read widely to enrich their work; they search educational journals for broad principles, points of view, techniques and procedures; they build and rebuild courses in experimental efforts; they attend committee meetings, conferences and professional gatherings; they move from room to room, or dwell in tents and have no place to call their own; they gather materials where they may, they make bricks without straw. Amongst the studies which are being made, it would be well to undertake to see how the energies of this group may be conserved. The wick may burn bright when the oil is very low."

PRACTICAL EDUCATION IN CITIZENSHIP

The *Congressional Digest*, which has been published for a number of years, is now issued in such form that it is suitable for teaching problems of government in a life-like and vivid manner. The plan, described in the Instructor's Handbook published by the *Digest* for teachers using the method, provides for the instructor to join the students in a bi-partisan group, following the organization of a Congressional committee, to examine, analyze, and solve the nation's problems in the same manner and at the same time Congress is doing so. Each month the *Congressional Digest* covers completely one major issue pending in Congress, presenting its history, status, provisions, political aspects, its bearing on international relations, and a digest of the speeches of members of Congress and other experts submitting arguments to Congress pro and con. Issues presented during the past year include the following: "Roosevelt's Gold Policy," "Federal Aid for Education," "Food and Drugs Legislation," "National Defense," "Federal Securities," "The 'New Deal'," "Power Utilities," and "Investigating the Munitions Industries." The subscription price is \$5.00 a year, with lower rates if ordered in quantities. For information address the Congressional Digest, 2131 LeRoy Place, Washington, D.C.

"PEACE ACTION"

The National Council for Prevention of War announces that its *News Bulletin* has been expanded and its title changed to *Peace Action*. The subscription price will continue to be fifty cents a year. This monthly includes news of the peace movements from all parts of the country, analysis of current government policies and world events

affecting international relations, the legislative situation in Washington, reviews of latest books, and important suggestions for action. For a complete list of pamphlets, pageants, etc., published by the Council, address the National Council for Prevention of War, 532 Seventeenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

AIDS FOR DEBATERS

Schools participating in the debates on the subject of "Federal Aid for Education" will be interested to know that the Office of Education, Department of Interior, Washington, D.C., has issued a pamphlet, *United States Office of Education Publications Useful to Debates on Federal Aid*.

ECONOMICS AT WELLESLEY COLLEGE

The December 16, 1934, number of the *New York Times* contains a news item to the effect that the number of students taking courses in economics and sociology at Wellesley College is more than double the enrolment in the department in the Fall of 1929. A survey report shows that the total enrolment in 1929 was 295 students, exactly the same as the number now taking the introductory course. The total enrolment this year is 576. The depression is considered the chief cause for the increased interest shown by the students in economics.

SYMPOSIUM ON THE "CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS"

A symposium on "The Conclusions and Recommendations of the Commission on the Investigation of the Social Studies in the Schools," is published in the *Social Studies Leaflet* (X, December, 1934, 2-8), the official journal of The Southern California Social Science Association. Contributors include: Merritt M. Thompson, University of Southern California; Frank J. Klingberg, University of California at Los Angeles; Walker Brown, Director of Instruction, Los Angeles Public Schools; Russell Wright Edwards, John Marshall High School, Los Angeles; George A. Homrighausen, Washington High School, Los Angeles. A bibliography of "Critical Comment on Conclusions and Recommendations," including articles and reviews published to date, is appended.

The contributors find varying parts of the volume worthy of commendation, and isolate other parts for criticism, apparently in part dependent upon their academic affiliations. Two are critical of the "frame of reference" and the section on tests and testing; one, while commending the sections on the teacher and public relations, finds the volume "so vague that it will be of but little help in working out a definite program for the social sciences in the schools." The Commission's frankness and sincerity in making recommendations which contradict certain current practices are mentioned by several contributors.

The symposium supplements the series of articles published in earlier issues of this magazine.

HISTORY BOOKS

Teachers of ancient history will be interested in Lists 117 and 117A containing new, shelf-worn, and used titles in this field issued by Barnes & Noble, 105 Fifth Avenue, New York City. Similar lists of titles for other fields of history and for the other social sciences are issued from time to time by the same firm.

AIDS FOR TEACHERS

Teachers offering courses which include immigration will be interested in Edna G. Cleve's compilation of titles, with annotations, in "Our Foreign-Born Americans," *Wilson Bulletin for Librarians* (IX, December, 1934, 181-187). In the same number (pp. 177-180), Hannah Logasa, in "An Appraisal of Current Periodicals in the High School," summarizes data on pupil preferences in magazines and those found most useful. Useful suggestions will command the attention of teachers of the social studies as well as librarians.

A PROPOSED HISTORY OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR THE SOCIAL STUDIES

President Wilson of the National Council for the Social Studies has asked the writer to serve as chairman of a committee and has appointed a committee to collect material for a history of the National Council. The material ought to be collected and collated for the movement for the National Council for the Social Studies has been an important one. The writer has agreed to take the first steps in gathering the materials, but the task of the final development of the project must be placed in the hands of someone who can drive it to completion.

The work ought to be done easily if those who know the history of the National Council will help to contribute facts and details of its work with which many have been directly associated. The first thing to know is the names of those who think the work worth doing and are willing at least to record themselves in favor of the proposal. The next thing is to set up a skeleton of the kinds of information we need and ask the coöperators to indicate on what parts of it they will undertake to furnish such information as is easily within their reach.

In the development of the history of the National Council, information on the following items, among many other things, will be needed: Why the National Council was formed; what educational and social conditions seemed to indicate the need for such an organization; what obstacles were at once apparent and what others developed; what effects resulted from the previous existence of a successful journal for history teachers; what effects from the existence of some strong local and regional organizations of history teachers; what work the Council did in connection with such enterprises as the report of experimental curriculum making, the History Inquiry, the early stages of a movement for a general investigation, which resulted in the Social Studies Investigation; why for several years it marked time, as it did at the request of the Investigation; and now that the National Council is about to begin a new period in its life, what forces are behind it that will make this life vigorous.

The Chairman of the committee will be grateful for the names of persons who have contributed in any way to the work of the National Council and who believe that the effort to write its history to date is worthy of their coöperation. Many persons who have made contributions in one form or another are probably not listed in the files and records of the organization. It is to these persons as well as to all members and former officers that this appeal for coöperation is addressed. Are you a democrat or a fascist? This is a democratic experiment.

EDGAR DAWSON

Hunter College

National Council for the Social Studies

ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY

HOTEL CHELSEA

Saturday, February 23, 1935

- 10:00 A.M. Presiding: Howard E. Wilson, Harvard University.
Daniel C. Knowlton, New York University. "The Social Studies in the Intermediate Grades."
Mary Harden, Horace Mann School for Girls, New York City. "The Social Studies Curriculum in the Elementary School."
W. Linwood Chase, Boston University. "Dramatic Materials in Social-Studies Instruction in Grades IV, V, and VI."
- 12:30 P.M. Luncheon.
Presiding: Edgar B. Wesley, University of Minnesota. President, National Council for the Social Studies.
Edgar Dawson, Hunter College. "An Historical Approach to the National Council."
Roy A. Price, North High School, Quincy, Massachusetts. "The Use of Magazines in Social-Studies Classes."
- 3:00 P.M. Presiding: Edgar B. Wesley, University of Minnesota. President National Council for the Social Studies.
Discussion of the *Fifth Yearbook*.
Roy W. Hatch, State Teachers College, Montclair, New Jersey.
William G. Kimmel, Managing Editor, *The Social Studies*.
Herbert G. Espy, University of Rochester.
- 6:45 P.M. Dinner Meeting.
Presiding: Roy O. Hughes, Department of Curriculum Research, Public Schools, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Vice-President, National Council for the Social Studies.
Howard E. Wilson, Harvard University. "Can Social-Studies Teachers Teach the Truth?"
Edgar B. Wesley, University of Minnesota. "The National Council Looks Ahead."

Book Reviews and Book Notes

The Nature of the Social Sciences in Relation to Objectives of Instruction. By Charles A. Beard. (Part VII of the Report of the Commission on the Social Studies of the American Historical Association.) New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934. Pp. xi, 236. \$2.00.

A certain professor in one of our institutions of higher learning occasionally asks a prospective graduate student to read and report on Cheyney's "Law in History." If the student fails to demonstrate insight and appreciation, the professor discourages him from further graduate work in history. Even if Cheyney's essay does not furnish an ideal *experimentum crucis*, the professor's method is sound. The reviewer proposes that Beard's *Nature of the Social Sciences* be used as a professional touchstone for teachers of the social studies.

The reviewer has already indicated his opinion of this volume. He believes that teachers will have frequent and continued use for it and especially for Chapter I, for the list of subject contents (pp. 195-225), and for the list of qualities and powers (pp. 226-230). Altogether the volume stands as a great interpretation of a complex area of human affairs. And its significance is apparent partly because it is directed toward a discernible objective. The widespread interest and approval with which it has been received justify a rather extended notice.

The typical person is inclined to assign mysterious powers to science. He frequently assumes that it is a self-operating force guided by a recondite intelligence and capable of ascertaining rules and laws of universal validity. The cult of science worshippers will be disturbed, perhaps distressed, by Dr. Beard's relentless analysis of the limitations of the scientific method. And his analysis is not confined to the pseudo-scientific realm of social materials but penetrates even into that of the physical. He shows that the natural sciences describe and predict rather than explain. They can show *how* phenomena happen, but they cannot explain *why* they happen. If science in its most congenial setting can go no farther, what is to be expected in the realm of social phenomena? A rather extended answer is necessary.

The social sciences differ from the natural sciences in six ways. The former are greater in bulk and in complexity than the latter. In the third place, the social sciences consist in part of ideas themselves. This naturally introduces a complex which is alien to the natural sciences. In the fourth place, the social sciences must be considered in time extension; social phenomena often appear to take place by chance, to be frequently contingent upon causes which are not discernible; and lastly, the social sciences are suffused in human values. The author richly amplifies what may here appear to be a dogmatic summary.

What then are these social sciences which differ so markedly from the natural sciences? They are those bodies of knowledge and thought which pertain to human affairs. They deal with social *actualities*, such as ideas, activities, purposes, organizations, and events. They consist of *records*, such as artifacts, materials, and written documents. They consist of *knowledge* which is derived from experience and records. They consist of *thought*, which may or may not derive from knowledge. For example, what the Parliamentary leaders of King James's time thought about the Great Charter

was far more significant than the actualities surrounding that important document. And lastly, the social sciences consist of *method*.

The author considers the influence upon the social sciences of two methods, the scientific and the humanistic. The scientific method, which involves the objective and disinterested observation of phenomena proved to be marvelously fruitful in the natural sciences. Observing its success, students of social phenomena longed to utilize it in dealing with their material. They hastened to do so, and lo, the social sciences were created—in name at least. The social scientists set about collecting, arranging, and classifying the varied content of their fields. The preliminary steps were relatively easy, and progress was apparent. Slowly, however, five difficulties began to appear.

The social scientist soon discovered that he could not segregate his chosen segment, that he could not take it into a laboratory for examination and experimentation. It became apparent that the economic man, the natural man, the political man, and the social man were various manifestations of one man. The economist discovered that economic laws did not arise from the study of business cycles or distribution, nor from the whole field of economics, because economics itself was only one aspect of a larger whole. Thus the social scientist became aware of the "seamless web."

The second difficulty in applying the scientific method to social phenomena was found to reside in the social scientist himself. The essence of the scientific method is neutrality. It is relatively easy to watch the actions of natural forces with impartial calm; it is quite different when one observes the operation of social forces. One not only cannot be neutral; one often has no desire to be neutral.

In the third place, the scientific method seems to be inapplicable to large areas of human affairs. Some false impulse led the social scientists to assume that it could be applied in a wholesale fashion, that cause and effect could be discerned, that social organisms were as disparate as those in the biological world. What Aristotle said in regard to ethics seems also applicable to the social sciences. "We must be satisfied," says Aristotle, "in reasoning upon these subjects, to give only a rough sketch of the truth, and when our premises are not universal laws but statements of what generally or probably occurs, to draw only probable conclusions." In the same spirit the reader must accept all that is here stated, for no one who pretends to education will look for more exactness in the treatment of any subject than the nature of the subject admits. To ask mathematical demonstration from an orator is as absurd as to accept probable reasoning from a mathematician. There are then large areas in human affairs to which the scientific method is inapplicable. It can ascertain the date of the organization of the League of Nations; it can collect much pertinent data concerning the League; but it cannot calculate the wisdom of having such an organization.

The fourth difficulty in the application of the scientific method to social phenomena is to be found in the necessity of making unwarranted assumptions. Enduring laws must rest upon enduring elements and conditions. The railroad bonds that are due in 1954 will then be paid *if* conditions warrant. The purchasers of the bonds assumed the continued necessity of rail transportation, the continued existence of a government that would enforce private contracts, and the continued payment of interest. In 1862 President Lincoln predicted that the population of the United States in 1930 would be 251,000,000. He was cautious enough to say that his prophecy rested upon the assumption that past rates of increase would continue. The failure to consider such factors has relegated more than one social scientist to the class of false prophets.

The fifth defect in the application of the scientific method to the social realm is its incompleteness. Scientific facts about natural phenomena often indicate the next step. When investigators found that the tick was responsible for fever among the cattle, the extermination or control of the tick was clearly foreshadowed. No such certainty is indicated by much of our social data. Scientific research has shown that there are 10,200 homicides annually in the United States, but the method does not indicate the next step. The presence of twenty million radios does not indicate the most desirable use of them. In fact, no science as such can be concerned with human affairs. We are clear on this point in the case of mathematics, physics, and chemistry. Such sciences can be used by the friend and the foe of society. "Mathematics may be employed to keep books of a legitimate manufacturing establishment or the records of a gang of robbers. Physics may be employed in industry or burglary. Chemistry may be used in healing the sick or poisoning the food of a personal enemy. There is nothing in mathematics, physics or chemistry which declares what uses ought to be made of their axioms and laws" (p. 162). We must likewise be cognizant that the social sciences point to no *ought* or *should* or *must*. The scientific method is not at fault because it does not indicate a policy, but it is wise for us to be aware of this limitation. Stated in educational terms, the scientific method alone can never determine objectives nor construct a curriculum, for both these steps involve choices and values, which must rest upon human judgment.

This emphasis upon the limitations of the scientific method should lead no one to suppose that it has failed in its application to social phenomena. Because we have no science of society corresponding to the dreams of Comte, Spencer, Marx, and Pavlov, it does not follow that we must fall back upon instinct, guesses, and unguided judgments. The limitations of the method do not invalidate it as an instrument of inquiry and thought. It has, in fact, been wondrously fruitful in its application by the social sciences. It has resulted in the collection and rearrangement of large bodies of facts which are of untold value. It has developed useful and convenient categories of knowledge. It has described trends, and described them so well as to approach the predictive status of the natural sciences. In the fourth place it has stimulated the search for fundamental and inclusive processes.

Dr. Beard concludes that since there is no such branch of knowledge as social science, there can be no subsidiary social sciences (p. 37). The reviewer would reverse this line of thought and say that since there are so social sciences, there can be no composite social science, for zero added to zero does not make one.

In contrast with the scientific method the humanistic method makes no pretensions of neutrality but openly admits a penchant for values. The great social scientists have not scorned to use the humanistic method. Plato did not claim to be scientific when he wrote the *Republic*. Rousseau made little pretense of historical research when he wrote the *Social Contract*, nor of educational research when he wrote *Emile*. James Madison went beyond the scientific method when he helped to frame the Constitution and when he urged its adoption. Even Herbert Spencer, who displays a vast array of systematized knowledge, did not hesitate to argue for values that did not arise from the results of the scientific method.

The humanistic method is inevitable. No matter how stoutly a scholar declares his neutrality, his disinterested pursuit of truth, or his scientific urge, one may be sure that he has a framework of values. Adroit questioning will soon lead him to show how society could be remade—if the full implications of his work were realized. If he

persists in oral or written declarations of absolute neutrality, the content of his work, the organization of the materials, the very title itself will declare his sense of values. Not even the natural scientist can be neutral in the act of choosing his field of study or in his tentative hypotheses. The social scientist who claims to ignore desires, hopes, interests, and values is simply omitting large areas of pertinent data. His own procedure may be faultless, but it will also be quite futile, for the results can have little relation to the realities of the social world.

The humanistic method is practicable. If social action had to wait until all pertinent materials had been gathered and analyzed, nothing would be accomplished. (See the author's striking illustration of this truth, pp. 174-177.) If social scientists with their vast collections of information will not make choices or declare values, less timid souls will make such declarations. The curriculum maker cannot await the scientific determination of desirable materials, even if they could be so selected, for if he did, the schools would have no curriculum. If legislators waited until all the evidence was in, there would be no new laws. Ethical judgments, choices of values must be made, not occasionally in matters of state, but constantly in affairs both great and small.

Thus it appears that the social sciences are ethical sciences. They will make frequent and extensive use of the scientific method, but in the determination of policy or the selection of objectives, they can never rely wholly upon its findings. A sense of values inevitably becomes the determining factor.

This first chapter, dealing with "The General Nature of the Social Sciences," plus occasional excursions into other parts of the book has occupied considerable space in this review, and justly so, for the chapter is a fundamental analysis, a challenge to traditional thinking, and a call to renew our faith in ethical values. Chapters II-V deal with history, political science, economics, and sociology for the purpose of discovering the peculiar contribution which each can make to educational objectives. Geography is omitted because it is treated in another volume of the *Report* (Bowman, *Geography in Relation to the Social Sciences*).

In the chapter on history Dr. Beard shows how the historians vowed to become scientific, how they succeeded within certain small areas, and how they hoped to discover eventually the laws of history. Shortly after 1900 critics arose. They accused the scientific historians of selecting and arranging their facts to support their purposes, of unwarrantedly assuming the operation in history of cause and effect, and of importing from biology the analogy of organisms and of forgetting that they were merely analogies. Even more significant, the critics rejected the notion that "facts duly assembled, in a library or laboratory, automatically and inexorably suggest or dictate their own conclusions . . ." (p. 58).

The author laments the fact that history is frequently regarded as a definite body of facts that inevitably emerges whenever the past is considered. History is "thought about the past, checked and controlled to a certain extent by the known facts of the past" (p. 52). The choice and arrangement of facts are based upon purpose, recognized or unrecognized. And if the historian ostentatiously expels a great philosophy at the front door, he is likely to admit a mean and unworthy philosophy at the back door.

History has widened its scope and increased in accuracy. It has shed light upon many eras and topics. It is aware of the geographic setting, of the importance of biography, and of the vitality of ideas. The constant alteration of attention from the general to the specific indicates the pedagogical approach.

The chapters devoted to political science, economics, and sociology demonstrate

the operation of the principle of choice. The evolution of political science proceeded from forms to administration, on to forces behind the machinery, and finally to the functions of government. Economics as a perfect science was disarranged by the development of economic affairs and may even now be lagging quite behind technological progress. Sociology, because of the multiplicity of its contents, has shown few signs of becoming a closed subject.

Chapter VI, dealing with "Social Trends," is an analysis of recent developments in technology, economy, education, etc. The treatment of "education" is not calculated to soothe any teacher into complacency. Chapter VIII restates the conclusions concerning the nature of the social sciences and points out how such facts condition the determination of objectives. The offerings of each of the subjects are described. The same reasoning which led to the rejection of the idea of the all-sufficiency of the scientific method in the social sciences leads likewise to its rejection when applied in the field of education. Consequently objectives and curricula must be selected on the basis of judgment as to values rather than according to any scientific formula.

Chapter VIII treats the problem of specific objectives. These appear to be, in part, the work of the whole Commission and so deserve to be regarded as doubly significant. They are classified into two groups, namely those portions of the content of the social sciences which are supposedly effective in realizing the objectives, and those qualities and powers of personality which are necessary for proper social functioning. Chapters IX and X list these two classes of objectives. They are scarcely susceptible of condensation and so no attempt will be made to indicate their nature beyond saying that they are primarily educational objectives. Social objectives will be found in *A Charter for the Social Sciences* and in *Conclusions and Recommendations*.

The quality of the volume under review should perhaps place it beyond the pale of routine fault-finding, and the reviewer finds himself in hearty accord with its major theses. Consequently his criticisms are directed toward omissions and implications rather than toward the actual contents.

Perhaps the author has restricted the meaning of the word "science" to too narrow a sphere. Some of the clarity of the volume may thus have been achieved by definition. The word science is said to consist of a body of knowledge which is to be found on printed pages and in the minds of thinkers (p. 2). The author seems to forget the second aspect when he narrows the word science to the functions of description and prediction. The restricting of "science" involves also the restricting of "explanation," an argument which has about it a legalistic air (pp. 31-32). An explanation is that which satisfies curiosity, and a science is capable of answering countless questions about more or less fundamental matters, thus satisfactorily explaining many things. There is, of course, a limit to its ability to explain. However valiantly scholars may strive to restrict the meaning of words, the Humpty Dumpties will come along and make words mean what they want them to mean. And after all, the author's main thesis does not rest upon the restricted meaning of "science" but upon the fundamental differences between dealing with *natural* and with *social* phenomena.

The chapter on economics is open to criticism in several respects. The author seems to regard the diversity of economic thought, the failure to establish "a unified science or scheme of thought" (p. 104) as an indictment of economics. Surely there are other ways of regarding this situation. In another place he says that Ricardo believed in economic "law and movement as remorseless, as indifferent to human will and purposes,

as Newton discovered in the heavens" (p. 96), and refers to an "economic system which pleased Ricardo" (p. 99). The first statement is doubtful; it would be interesting to have a citation for it. The second one is more than dubious. Ricardo opposed the Corn Laws and disliked landlords. He must not have been wholly "pleased" with the economic system. Lest this appear to be quibbling, let the reviewer cite another sentence: "Later writers wrote in similar vein . . ." [i.e. as Ricardo is said to have written]. This implies that the economists as a group are wooden thinkers who shut their eyes to actualities. It would be reasonably easy to show that nearly every economist, including the apparently hard-hearted Malthus, has had human values as his ultimate objective. Among economists who were or are outspokenly "interventionist," "liberal," "optimist," "collectivistic," "welfare," or "institutional" might be mentioned Say, Bastiat, Carey, Mill, Schimoller, Taussig, Pigou, Cassel, the whole Socialistic school, nearly all the Austrian school, and dozens of others. The author implies that the economist is at fault for considering only a contemporary period plus a certain chronological depth. He does not show that such a procedure is unsound. The description of the "economic man" and classical economics (pp. 97-98) is rather unfair to the economists. Even the classical economists never claimed that man was actuated solely by self-interest, merely that the motive is predominant in the economic realm. In fact, the "economic man" has been dead so long that it is a standing jest among economists as to who killed him. It is unfortunate that the author based his indictment of present economics so largely upon the writings of Smith and Ricardo. Had he gone even to Karl Knies, who wrote around 1850, he would have found an *economist* who believed essentially what the author has written about the limitations of the scientific method and the subjectivity of objective data, and the Austrian school of economists surely does not deserve the condemnation of losing sight of social actualities.

The chapter on sociology is even more unsatisfactory. In the first place its very brevity implies an insignificance that is scarcely justified. The statement that "sociology has not been made a definite subject of instruction in the schools, at least on a large scale" (p. 113) is misleading. Kimmel (*Instruction in the Social Studies*, 18) shows that instruction in the form of "problems of democracy," "sociology," "social problems," or "social and economic problems" is given in 32 of the 43 cities surveyed, and his statement is only one of many which could be cited. The classification of "special treatises in sociology" as "historical and practical" (p. 119) is thoroughly inadequate if not actually misleading. "Practical" scarcely reaches the definition of a category, and numerous studies of social phenomena are neither practical nor historical. It may be significant that of the five sociologists mentioned in the entire chapter (Comte, Spencer, Ward, Westermarck, and Briffault), three belong wholly to the nineteenth century, and Westermarck's work that is cited was published in 1894. One has a feeling that the chapter describes the sociology of 1900. It is incorrectly named, for there is practically no hint of the work of cultural sociologists.

The section on "Who Is Competent to Determine Objectives?" (pp. 184-187) is unfortunate in tone and somewhat cloudy in its conclusions. It is no secret, as the author seems to imply, that educators try to interpret the will of society, formulate objectives accordingly, select materials, apply methods, measure results, and hope for desirable outcomes. No single group is probably any more competent than they to perform these tasks, and if the educators do not perform them, the pupils would become restless, waiting for the program of the social scientists. The whole Commission is on

record (*Conclusions and Recommendations*, 132) as regretting the non-participation of social scientists in the deliberations of school men. The lament, however, can easily be interpreted as a Barkis-like attitude toward an invitation to address the Department of Superintendence. No such invitations will be issued in the spirit thus indicated. And what would the historians think of a superintendent of schools who attended the meeting of the American Historical Association? The Commission touched and passed over a vital problem. Returning to the question of "who is competent to determine objectives," let us note that one of the answers is the Commission. And there is a curious inconsistency here, for the author, on page 185, seems to reject the selection of objectives by "specialists in the social sciences," but on page 187 he seems to approve the determination of objectives by "representatives from all the social sciences." The program of the Commission is stated with modesty and caution. It is a proposed program, subject to discussion and trial, whereas the programs launched by the educators become the actual programs. Perhaps these facts explain the apparent resentment against educators. But the educators do need the social scientists. Will the latter continue their isolation policy, or will they take some practicable steps to assist?

The reviewer regrets that the Commission has used the terms *social sciences* and *social studies* indiscriminately and interchangeably. The former should be used to indicate the scholarly areas and the latter to indicate those portions of them which are utilized for instructional purpose. The social studies are the social sciences simplified for pedagogical purposes.

EDGAR B. WESLEY

University of Minnesota

The Heritage of Freedom. By James T. Shotwell. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1934. Pp. ix, 136. \$1.75.

This extremely interesting and scholarly little book represents a study of one of the vital problems of the age—the problem of international coöperation to the end that a reign of peace may prevail throughout the world. To be specific, it deals primarily with the relations of the United States and Canada in the community of nations.

The three lectures delivered by Professor Shotwell in 1932 at the University of Toronto, on the Pearson Kirkman Marfleet Lectureship, are set forth in the volume.

The first, "From Isolation to the World War," is an interpretative historical survey of factors and forces responsible for the common pre-war policy of non-interest and non-participation in European affairs by the American and Canadian people. Both peoples were grappling with the problems of their own destinies: first, they were occupied with the expansion Westward in the process of nation building; and second, they were engaged in experimentations in the science of democratic government. Under such conditions, foreign affairs played but a minor rôle in the outlook of both until suddenly forces over which neither had any control broke the old-time mold of isolation and hurled them into the maelstrom of war.

Lecture II, entitled, "A Monroe Doctrine for the World," is primarily a discussion of American proposals in the cause of world peace both previous to and following the World War. Professor Shotwell places arbitration as our most outstanding contribution to the mechanisms for the peaceful settlement of disputes arising between nations. He deems the Bryan treaties especially worthy of great praise for their far-reaching efforts in the pacific settlement of disputes.

Part two of this lecture deals with the evolution and the promulgation of the Wilsonian peace idea. Professor Shotwell shows that the League of Nations' idea was formulated from President Wilson's liberal and broad conception of the Monroe Doctrine. The writer, so intimately associated with President Wilson in the making of the treaty of peace following the World War, has not, sixteen years later, lost any of his admiration for our war-time chief executive. He insists that our failure to ratify the Treaty of Versailles and join the League of Nations was a major political mistake. Professor Shotwell has no sympathy with the almost traditional senatorial policy of hamstringing worthy commitments negotiated by the president and designed to advance American adherence to those measures which would insure the peaceful settlements of disputes arising between nations.

The third and final lecture, "The Challenge of an Unsolved Problem," deals with the politics of peace. The idea of abolishing the war system has given currency to endless discussions and some official efforts on the part of governments to advance the cause. This includes the abortive efforts to strengthen the League of Nations through the adoption of the Geneva Protocol of 1924, which would have substantially strengthened the existing peace machinery by laying down a system of effective sanctions through a procedure of compulsory peace enforcement. Next in line is the Pact of Paris. Briefly and brilliantly, the author traces the origin of this peace move, describes its enactment and, lastly, discusses the possibility of its effectiveness in the light of subsequent events in the field of international relations which were contrary to its essence and spirit.

Professor Shotwell pleads for understanding of America's peculiar position in regard to foreign relations. Eventually, we shall grow into a realization of our new world position and the obligations it brings. The author states that we are making progress in our educative process in this direction, and offers facts to substantiate his conclusions. His volume is worth the serious study of those who would broaden their understanding of the problem of world coöperation and the maintenance of permanent peace, that must continue to be a foremost issue if the world is to save itself from the devastating consequences of war.

LLOYD W. TRUMAN

Central High School, Bridgeport, Connecticut

Slavery in Mississippi. By Charles Sackett Sydnor. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1933. Pp. xiii, 270.

Here is a volume which compares favorably with the works already published under the auspices of the American Historical Association. Characterized by high scholarship and careful writing, Professor Sydnor's study of slavery in Mississippi deserves attention from all students of the South. As institutional history, there is no place for special pleading and the author has written a reasoned, impartial book.

Sydnor calls his work a cross-section of slavery in Mississippi. With his treatment of work, care, control, purchase, and profitableness of slavery, the author takes in a broad, but accurate, review of the institution as it functioned in the area known as Natchez Territory which became the twentieth state of the Union as Mississippi in 1817.

The importance of a special study of slavery in this area arises from several factors. Firstly, Mississippi was a slave-buying area rather than a slave-producing area, which entered the Union on the eve of the slave trade. Secondly, the average planter there was not the wealthy aristocrat of song and story. Thirdly, the attitude toward slavery

underwent a most interesting transition after 1830. In the beginning, public opinion was more or less opposed to slavery, regarding it as a necessary evil. A few abolitionists were found, and a colonization movement was actively supported. In the 1830's, a change took place and the people in their press, their speech, and through their legislature began to defend slavery, to protect it, to resent attacks upon it. One of the factors in this development was what Sydnor calls a "backward movement toward the frontier" (p. 248). Here we have a most interesting commentary on a young democracy nurtured in the newly formed counties of Northern Mississippi which were opened for settlement after 1830, for this democracy was "supposedly dependent on the labor of negro slaves." It is to be hoped that this phase of frontier influence will be further developed by Professor Sydnor. In connection with this discussion, one may question the use of the term "planter aristocracy," in view of what was said on page 41 and throughout Chapter VIII. Also important in this cross-section study is the emphasis upon the fact that the planter and his agents were generally motivated by "common business prudence" (pp. 40-41, 45, 51, 89, 94). The discussion of the slave code and the study of various legal cases also broadens the aspects of the work.

For the teacher, Chapter IX, "The Mississippi Colonization Society," and Chapter X, "Contemporary Opinions—Conclusions," will be found useful. The treatment of colonization in Liberia, a somewhat neglected field, is one of the most important contributions of the book. Footnote 144 on page 238 will probably come as a surprise to many readers.

The reader was impressed by the use of the files of the *Woodville Republican* and other contemporary newspapers. (Cf. pp. 92, 125.) Much of Sydnor's knowledge of slave life and slavery practices has come from a careful study of advertisements referring to slaves which appeared in the local press. We can perceive Sydnor's scholarship in his discussion of the punishment of slaves where he refers to the description of fugitive slaves which appeared in the *Woodville Republican*. Of 550 slaves described, 110 were marked, scarred, or branded in some manner, which would lead some to draw a conclusion about the brutal treatment of slaves in Mississippi. But Sydnor points out that the average fugitive "was undoubtedly more recalcitrant than the average slave," and more likely therefore to bear marks of punishment. In the second place, the newspaper used was published near the Louisiana boundary and many of the slaves jailed in Mississippi were not fugitives from Mississippi (pp. 92-93). Another evidence of his careful judgment in the use of news material can be seen in his analysis of slave traders (p. 157).

The whole account is highly factual and many phases cannot be treated in this review, but the attention of the reader is called to the matter of soil exhaustion (p. 92), the legal protection of slave rights (p. 44), the variety of slave occupations (p. 12), and the excellent chapter on plantation and police control of slaves. The general reader will find the chapter on the profitableness of slavery illuminating. Throughout, there is no excess verbiage, no *obiter dicta*, and the author's style was neither labored nor too bare. The book is free of typographical errors. Both text and bibliography admirably supplement the work of the late Professor Phillips.

HAROLD J. JONAS

New York City

A Decade of Revolution; 1781-1789. By Crane Brinton. New York: Harper & Bros., 1934. Pp. x, 330. \$3.75.

Reaction and Revolution; 1814-1832. By Frederick B. Artz. New York: Harper & Bros., 1934. Pp. xiii, 317. \$3.75.

These two books are the first volumes to appear in what is perhaps the most enterprising historical project being undertaken at the present time in America—the twenty-volume *Rise of Modern Europe* series, edited by Professor William L. Langer of Harvard University. The purpose of this work is not to produce a complete and lengthy *Allgemeine Geschichte* like that edited by Oncken or a *Histoire Générale* like that edited by Lavisé and Rambaud, but rather to present an "intelligent synthesis" of European history from 1250 to 1919. The series aims to stress economic, social, and cultural developments rather than political intrigue and diplomatic exchange, and to avoid purely nationalist history. It hopes to provide a readable account for the layman and to present new materials and the most recent interpretations for the student. The list of authors, without exception Americans and scholars of high repute, is an earnest that this laudable goal will be in large measure attained.

The difficulties of achieving such ideals are apparent on even a cursory survey of Professor Brinton's *Decade of Revolution*, for, try as he has, he has devoted by far the larger portion of his book and the major part of his attention on France. As a history of the French Revolution, however, the work is extremely provocative, highly useful, and very readable. The author has endeavored to present the interpretations of various schools of French Revolutionary history, to show the strength and weakness of each, and to suggest—at times perhaps even to pontificate—the one that comes nearest to the facts. His bibliographical essay, in which special attention is given to the "schools," is masterly. The author shows decidedly the influence of Jaurès and Mathiez in his selection of materials, for he endeavors, and justly so, I believe, to explain the course of the French Revolution in terms of economics. Never, however, does he accept the conclusions of these masters without a careful analysis of the data and does not hesitate to disagree with them. Professor Brinton displays an admirable command of historical literature, the only book of importance which the reviewer believes to have been omitted being that of C. Labrousse, *Esquisse du mouvement des prix et des revenus en France au XVIII^e siècle*.

Adverse criticism of the book cannot be extensive, but many a reader will undoubtedly search in vain for an adequate treatment of the French colonies during the Revolution and the rise, which in this period was phenomenal, of the spirit of nationalism. Surely he who searches for such subjects in the index will be saddened, for that important technical adjunct to the book is extremely poor. Finally, the author's statement that the facts concerning the economic depression of 1788-89 are "as clear as they ever will be" is a presumptuous statement in view of the inadequate secondary material on the subject and the plans of certain historians.

Professor Artz's *Reaction and Revolution* is perhaps less brilliant than Brinton's, but it has the virtue of being more European in its scope and more catholic in its interests than *Decade of Revolution*. The manner in which the author has portrayed the trends of the times in politics, economics, and culture is a real achievement. The skein of facts is woven together into an intelligible and intelligent whole. One may feel at times that the author lacks familiarity with the subject under discussion, as in the

case of German economic history and Balkan affairs, and that he has not read, or at least not reproduced, the contents of works which he has cited, as in the case of the *milliard des émigrés* in France. But generally, the reader has the impression that the main lines of the story are accurate and well thought through. The index is better than in the Brinton book, although a serious effort should be made in the other volumes of the series to make the items cited more numerous and to designate more accurately what phase of a subject is treated rather than list ten or a dozen references under one head; the bibliography is extensive and up-to-date but not so critical at Brinton's; and the illustrations, which are to have a place in every volume, are well chosen.

These first two volumes give evidence that the complete *Rise of Modern Europe* will form the best survey of European history since 1250 available in English. Every student should be familiar with it; every layman who intends to delve into serious history should give it his consideration. It is to be hoped that the succeeding volumes of the set will be as satisfactory as are these—the forerunners of an ambitious, courageous undertaking.

SHEPARD B. CLOUGH

Columbia University

Sky Determines. By Ross Calvin. New York: Macmillan Co., 1934. Pp. xii, 354.

Santiago de Los Caballeros de Guatemala. By Dorothy H. Popenoe. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1933. Pp. xiv, 74.

To the growth of Southwestern regionalism, contributions have been made by numerous scholars, writers, artists, and not least in importance, persons and organizations anxious to attract tourists. In New Mexico, where the elements of physical environment and ethnic survivals (notably the Pueblo Indians and the Spanish Americans) upon which it is based remain most highly concentrated, regionalism assumes its most acute form and the state becomes the regional unit. Of this state—regionalism—both literary and economic in motive—Dr. Calvin is an exponent. Thus, in accordance with precedent, he does homage to the beauty of the land and discusses the quaint and romantic aspects of the history and civilizations of the Pueblos, the Apaches, the Conquistadores and their descendants, and the American traders and ranchers; he also exalts the spiritual values which the older peoples have created in their adjustment to environment, and offers his state as a haven from the evils of industrialism (manifested especially by the current depression). In addition, he experiences the urge, confessed of late by the regionalists (see Carey MacWilliams, *The New Regionalism*, 1930), to concern himself with more than "local color" and to seek an intimate understanding of the "uniqueness" of the environment, especially for its bearing upon the possibilities of industrialization. The key to the area, which answers the latter question in the negative, he finds to be aridity, manifesting itself in cyclic droughts rather than in progressive desiccation. Hence, he devotes the first third of the book to a survey of its effects upon the physical environment and the rest to its influence upon the local history and civilizations. Such a solution is most clever for the regionalist who has literary ambitions since with the formula, "Sky determines," he can use the naïve imagery of the primitive folk, which he naturally wishes to incorporate into the regional tradition, in order to expound a supposedly scientific thesis. Thus he convinces himself that he overcomes the hitherto unsurpassable barrier raised by modern sophistication to myth!

However, analysis of Dr. Calvin's efforts to prove his thesis of climatic determinism reveals not only his unfamiliarity with the literature of the "environmental" controversy, but also that the powers over man which he attributes to the sky or rain gods are not as absolute as one would infer from the extraordinary reverence which he pays to them. Thus he admits that with the introduction of modern machinery "despot sky no longer determines—except within limits" (p. 333) while almost all the examples of the influence of "sky" which he offers are more directly the results of isolation and economic backwardness to which climate has contributed in a greater or lesser degree. Even the influence of the location of a river (p. 151) is considered an effect of "sky." When the author's mode of reasoning is understood, his conclusions still remain highly questionable. For example, Hispanic American history reveals that peonage, isolation, and the survival of Indian religion under a Catholic veil have not been peculiar to the Southwest. The author's incomplete knowledge, even of the history of his own state, is further revealed by a bibliography which does not contain many of the most recent or important authorities; some of the latter, e.g., Bandelier, are apparently quoted at second hand.

In Central America, too, the gods have not been wholly kind and have often laid low fair cities. Thus, they destroyed the second and third sites of the capital of Guatemala, the one by flood (1541), the other by earthquake (1773). Until the establishment of the capital upon the present site, in 1776, the third Santiago de los Caballeros, now called Antigua, was the greatest urban center in North America after Mexico City. Although it has by no means been entirely abandoned, its salubrious characteristics and the beauty of its environs have always been attractions to native and foreign tourists, and together with its ruins, sources of romantic interest and literary inspiration. Especially in recent years—as a result of the celebrations of the quatercentenaries of the founding of the first and second capitals and the growing consciousness of the economic value of *turismo*—have the Guatemalans manifested their interest by means of guidebooks and historical writings. To this literature is now added Mrs. Popenoe's account of the first three capitals prepared for those visitors "who have not had the opportunity to read the early chronicles" and illustrated with drawings by the author. The latter, who died at the end of 1932, was a young English botanist and archaeologist who lived in Central America. As the book is based on a restricted number of sources; as its romantic and antiquarian outlook causes it to devote almost all of its attention to the Conquistador Alvarado, ecclesiastics, and governors, to pious legends and pageantry; and as its guidebook character makes its descriptions of architectural landmarks very brief and unsystematic, the general reader will find it much lighter fare than Dr. Calvin's. The latter is distinguished at least by a great appreciation of the importance of social, and even more, economic factors. However, the booklet is outwardly very handsome and is to be commended, unlike the other, for the inclusion of a map.

MAX LEVIN

New York City

The First Earl of Shaftesbury. By Louise Fargo Brown. New York: Appleton-Century, 1933. Pp. xi, 350. \$4.00.

Professor Brown's book will be the quarry to which teachers, and writers about Shaftesbury, will henceforth turn. She has not only studied all the available materials

concerning his life, but has herself found a great deal which was not hitherto known about him. In many matters of his day to day, or even hour to hour, movements she shows a familiarity which would have startled her subject himself in his later years. Moreover, she has been unsparing in her efforts to provide sufficient setting for her story, so that any student of seventeenth-century England is likely to be rewarded by the volume. It is a solid, rich presentation of the man who so nearly upset the course of events in the reign of Charles II, and of the career which was ever present in statesmen's minds during the next generation. One of its greatest merits is the continuity which it provides between Tudor England and the days after the revolution of 1688.

One may mention without complaint the one notable defect of the book because there appears to be no scientifically historical way of remedying it. Shaftesbury as the conspirator does not emerge clearly, for as a conspirator he knew better than to commit his operations to records which might come down to us. It seems as if Professor Brown had been almost too self-denying in this matter and might without impropriety have given us her ideas in terms of her other well-substantiated conclusions. To many observers, Shaftesbury belongs among that group of politicians whose zest and obsession raise the question as to whether their announced aims are not secondary to their delight in power for its own sake. Such men, like Shaftesbury or Mussolini, cannot be disposed of by the label of radical or conservative.

American students will be grateful for chapter nine, "Theories and Councils of Trade and Plantations," although it may be suggested that there is a great story still to be told about North America between the Iroquois raids on Huronia and the founding of Louisiana. In it, the conquest of New York, the founding of Carolina, the trans-Appalachian explorations, the founding of the Hudson's Bay Company and the French drive down the Mississippi provide closely related parts; and in it, Shaftesbury and his friends had a systematic interest and shrewd plans to set over against those of Talon, Frontenac and Colbert. The continuity of English colonial enterprise during the troubled seventeenth century and the remarkable energy poured into it between 1660 and 1710 have escaped their due attention, largely because death checked the program of G. L. Beer. Professor Brown's findings concerning Shaftesbury's interest should be remembered by any student of the subject.

J. B. BREBNER

Columbia University

Educational Administration as Social Policy (Part VIII: Report of the Commission on the Social Studies: American Historical Association). By Jesse H. Newlon. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934. Pp. xv, 301.

This volume of the Report of the Commission is divided into three parts: "Evolution of Social Control," "Legal and Professional Controls," and "School Administration: An Applied Social Science." In eleven chapters, the author traces the evolution of the administrative control of the schools; the forces that play on the schools and instruction; the present status of administration of schools with attention devoted to the board of education, the school executive, the teacher, and the curriculum; and, finally, the presentation of proposals for a new conception of school administration along with broader social type of education for school executives.

In this volume, the author has clarified a situation which we had already somewhat vaguely sensed. There is little possibility of the social studies taking the place to which they seem logically entitled without the active support and encouragement

of those in charge of the administration of our schools. The author's conception of school administration as an applied social science is new, but in my estimation absolutely sound. This desired support is certainly a necessary first step to be followed very closely, of course, by a recommended program to be worked out in coöperation with social-studies departments.

Dr. Newlon has presented the crux of the problem in various places throughout his book. This problem, if the reviewer interprets it correctly, is a double one. The first calls for a courageous recognition on the part of educational administrators of the point of view set forth. It reminds us of the fact that a thoroughgoing and defensible policy can be worked out satisfactorily only if the administrator is able to convert "the powers that be" to his program, or at least to discourage active opposition to it. Most school people seem by nature or otherwise to be rather cautious and conservative. Hence, we cannot escape the query: will educational administration face the task? The quality of courage required to actually face the situation as set forth and follow it through to its logical conclusion, and at the same time the high type of diplomacy and tact necessary to do this without the active opposition of entrenched interests, calls for very superior ability and vision. Can and will our school administrators measure up?

Assuming that they can and will, we are still faced with the extremely difficult problem of determining exactly what this policy should be. This presents the second phase of the problem. The difficulties connected with clear analysis and organization of materials and the utilization of method to carry out the implications of Dr. Newlon's proposals is a titanic task. It calls for rare coöperative activity and wisdom on the part of social-studies teachers themselves in order that a program may be agreed upon which will be adjustable to the needs of today and still not neglectful of the rich heritage of the past. The problem of keeping a teaching force abreast of the times and willing and able to become true and dependable guides for students is in itself no small undertaking. These difficulties explain, in part at least, the reason for the general situation as it exists today.

In reading the volume, the reviewer gained the impression that the author might have emphasized a little more definitely the responsibility of all school workers in all departments for citizenship building. As with character training, optimum results may be obtained only when all who contact our boys and girls are coöperating to the same constructive ends. While the major responsibility for instruction and guidance should rest upon the social-studies department, full success can be obtained only through the active far-seeing coöperation of all concerned.

Dr. Newlon points out in an admirable way the desirable task to which we should address ourselves. It is, however, but a first step. It will do little good unless through the Department of Superintendents, through meetings of principals, and other policy-forming groups, an actual program is launched and maintained to accomplish the ends he sets forth. To achieve this purpose, it will likely become increasingly necessary in the future for school administrators to ally themselves more closely with organizations and groups that stand for optimum educational development for all, as against the entrenched interests that selfishly resent any proposed inroads into their domains. This volume will do much, without doubt, to establish the groundwork for a program of action which we hope shall quickly follow.

EUGENE HILTON

Oakland Public Schools, California

Documentary Textbook on International Relations. By John Eugene Harley. Los Angeles: Suttonhouse, 1934. Pp. xxvii, 848.

This is an excellent documentary collection covering certain aspects of international relations, particularly in the post-war period. There are eighteen documents relating to the background, Covenant, and procedure of the League of Nations; eight dealing with the relationship between the Covenant and the Monroe Doctrine; fifteen concerned with the establishment and functioning of the World Court, and of the relation of the United States to the Court; four on the International Labor Organization; fifteen bearing upon the Pan American Union and such other official international bodies as the Universal Postal Union, the International Institute of Agriculture, and the International Educational Cinematographic Institute; forty-four relating to the pacific settlement of international disputes and including well-chosen notes, conventions, and treaties; twenty-eight pertaining to the movement for the renunciation of war; and twenty regarding the question of arms limitation and reduction.

The book is distinguished by a number of unusual features. To begin, most of the documents cited are reproduced in full. Moreover, the source of each document is clearly given, so that it may be referred to with a minimum of difficulty and annoyance. The occasional historical comments, the lists of ratification dates of the treaties, and the tables of signatories to many of the conventions, protocols, and treaties make of the work a very convenient reference manual. Though the volume is large, it is easy to handle and the print is remarkably clear. Finally, there is an exceptionally good, thirty-eight page bibliography which includes references to foreign and domestic treaty collections and periodicals.

WALTER CONSUELO LANGSAM

Columbia University

History of Western Europe. Vols. I and II (new edition). By James Harvey Robinson. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1934. Pp. x, 545, xxvii; x, 623, xxxi. \$3.00; \$3.20.

Not often has it been said that a major intellectual contribution was the writing of a textbook, but there can be no question of its appropriateness in estimating Robinson's *History of Western Europe*. Once more, we are brought to a reconsideration of this genuine achievement in scholarship because of its latest revision. It has been a flattering, if not remunerative, tribute to Robinson that the books which have appeared in the thirty years since his first was written have not wandered far from the path he pioneered.

This latest edition does not differ much from earlier revisions. To volume one is appended a chapter "Retrospect and Forecast" containing some of the material that has appeared in other writings of the author. The bibliography also contains some additional titles, but important items like Pirenne's *Medieval Cities* are not listed. It is the reviewer's impression that modern undergraduates read more than their predecessors and it is well to give them a few additional references. The second volume has a new chapter "International Problems" which brings the record down to the date of publication. Some new matter has been incorporated in the chapters "Europe since the World War" and "Plans for Bettering Human Relations." The continued usefulness of Robinson's history as a text after so many years is a remarkable manifestation of its worth, and is an event as rare as it is welcome, in the annals of any publishing house.

MICHAEL KRAUS

College of the City of New York

Among the Current Magazines

GERTRUDE R. B. RICHARDS

Adams, James Truslow. "Rights Without Duties," *The Yale Review*, XXIV (Winter, 1935), 237-250.

The present moral decline is largely if not entirely due to the complete lack of balance between the conception of the national and international duties of the state.

Anderson, Douglas McClure. "Who Gets Relief?" *Atlantic*, CLV (January, 1934), 48-55.

An investigator for a County Relief Board furnishes facts with interpretative comments on four groups. Persons on work-relief will determine whether it will be used "as an agency to human betterment" or "fall away to a cheap-jack political racket."

Angel, James W. "Gold, Banks and the New Deal," *The Political Science Quarterly*, XLIX (December, 1934), 481-506.

The influence of the administration on the banking system is definite but its results are not yet determinable owing to the variety of extraneous forces.

Beals, Carleton. "Burning Saints in Mexico," *The Nation*, CXXXIX (December 26, 1934), 733-4.

The conflict is economic and social rather than religious.

Coyle, David Cushman. "What About Public Works?" *Harpers*, CLXX (January, 1935), 146-158.

A construction engineer examines some of the contradictions of the New Deal, including forces which obstruct a satisfactory program of public works. "Sooner or later we are going to demand a stable prosperity commensurate with our increased productive powers, and . . . go after a public works program that will mean business."

Edie, Lionel D. "Recovery Races Inflation," *Current History*, XLI (January, 1935), 385-392.

In a review of the present situation and the operation of the policies of the New Deal, the conclusion is reached "that a gradual, creeping inflationary pressure is being exerted on commodity prices."

Grattan, C. Hartley. "Who Is On Relief?" *Scribner's Magazine*, XCVII (January, 1935), 24-30.

Summaries of facts and figures arranged by states, occupational groups, races, age-groups, and urban-rural groups, with interpretative comments.

Herrick, Elinore Morehouse. "Why People Strike," *The Forum*, XCII (December, 1934), 336-342.

Based on actual experience, the efficient Executive Vice Chairman of the New York Regional Labor Board finds the causes in vital weaknesses of the codes with respect to the protection of workers, as well as in bad working conditions and failure to recognize the unions.

Kaiser, Berwin. "The \$10,000 Gallon of Oil: An Adventure in Graft," *Atlantic*, CLV (January, 1934), 17-21.

An illuminating episode in government contracts and graft; case-study material in business ethics.

Kiplinger, W. M. "Business, Roosevelt, and the New Congress," *Scribner's Magazine*, XCVII (January, 1935), 1-5.

The shrewd editor of a special news service for business leaders and others, after stating "I don't know" in answer to a series of questions, presents observations and predictions on fifteen major problems and issues which will probably be considered by Congress.

McCarthy, Ransom. "A Murder Has Been Arranged: The Story of the Rosenthal-Becker Case," *Harpers*, CLXX (January, 1935), 175-189.

An excellent summary of the ramifications of an outstanding case in New York City, two decades ago; a case-study of the relations between the police, graft, and crime.

Ransom, John Crowe. "Socialism and the Black Belt," *The American Review*, IV (December, 1934), 147-154.

The position of landlord no less than that of the negro laborer must be studied before any fact-finding of conditions in the South can be evaluated in their relation to the plantation system.

Shields, James M. "Woes of a Southern Liberal," *American Mercury*, XXXIV (January, 1935), 73-79.

A school principal, who lost his position because of the publication of a frank novel, surveys the taboos such as advocacy of political reforms, anti-militarism, advocacy of educational reform, encountered in the South.

Simon, Frank H. "From Wilson to Hitler," *Atlantic*, CLV (January, 1935), 32-40.

The League of Nations in its fifteen years of existence has failed to achieve the purpose for which it was established rather because of the fault in its conception than of its inherent weakness.

Stewart, Kenneth. "The Free Press of California," *American Mercury*, XXXIV (January, 1935), 112-117.

Facts, incidents, and excerpts to show how newspapers helped to break the strike last summer; a case-study in the attempts of the press to mold opinion in industrial warfare, with illuminating implications for current-events classes.

Ulman, Joseph N. "Chaos in Criminal Justice," *American Mercury*, XXXIV (January, 1935), 80-87.

A judge surveys the problems and offers suggestions necessary "to create an effective system of criminal justice."

Wilson, Walter. "Labor Fights the American Legion," *American Mercury*, XXXIV (January, 1935), 1-11.

Series of facts and incidents; the Legion is unlikely again "to openly show its bias against labor," and hence cannot "become an avowed Fascist organization."

Winslow, Charles-Edward A. "Planning for Medical Care," *Current History*, XLI (January, 1935), 437-442.

Data and proposals of the Committee on Costs of Medical Care are presented together with arguments favorable and unfavorable to group practice and group purchase of medical services.

Current Publications Received

AMERICAN HISTORY

- Hackett, Charles Wilson. *Pichardo's Treatise on The Limits of Louisiana and Texas*, Vol. II. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1934. Pp. xv, 618.

EUROPEAN AND WORLD HISTORY

- Heaton, Herbert. *The British Way to Recovery*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1934. Pp. vi, 184. \$2.00.
- Krofta, Kamil. *A Short History of Czechoslovakia*. New York: Robert M. McBride & Co., 1934. Pp. v, 198. \$2.00.
- Lutz, Ralph Haswell. *The Causes of the German Collapse in 1918*. Stanford University: Stanford University Press, 1934. Pp. xiii, 309. \$4.00.

ECONOMICS

- Ball, John A. *Canadian Anti-Trust Legislation*. Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins Co., 1934. Pp. vii, 105.
- Elbert, Robert G. *Unemployment and Relief*. New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1934. Pp. xii, 136. \$1.00.
- Slichter, Sumner H. *Towards Stability*. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1934. Pp. xi, 211. \$2.00.
- Tugwell, Rexford Guy. *The Battle for Democracy*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1934. Pp. vi, 330. \$3.00.

POLITICAL SCIENCE

- Buck, A. E. *The Budget in Governments of Today*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1934. Pp. vi, 349. \$3.00.
- Hall, Ford P. *Government and Business*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1934. Pp. x, 275. \$2.50.
- Mitchison, G. R. *The First Workers' Government*. London: Victor Gollancz, Ltd., 1934. Pp. 528. 5/-.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

- Blakeslee, George H. *Conflicts of Policy in The Far East*. New York: Foreign Policy Association, and World Peace Foundation, 1934. Pp. 56. 50c.
- Demiashkevich, Michael. *Shackled Diplomacy. The Permanent Factors of Foreign Policies of Nations*. New York: Barnes & Noble, 1934. Pp. iv, 244. \$2.50.
- Riegel, O. W. *Mobilizing for Chaos. The Story of The New Propaganda*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1934. Pp. 231. \$2.50.
- Ware, Edith E., ed. *The Study of International Relations in the United States*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1934. Pp. xviii, 503. \$3.50.

SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

- Folsom, Joseph Kirk. *The Family. Its Sociology and Social Psychiatry*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1934. Pp. xiii, 604. \$4.00.
- The Third International Congress of Eugenics. A Decade of Progress in Eugenics*. Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins Co., 1934. Pp. xi, 531.

THE SOCIAL STUDIES

EDUCATION

Bizzell, William Bennett. *The Relations of Learning*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1934. Pp. ix, 177. \$2.50.

TEXTBOOKS—SECONDARY SCHOOL

Harlow, Ralph Volney. *A History of The United States*. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1934. Pp. xiv, 760, liii. \$1.96.

Williamson, Thames Ross (revised by Hamm, William A.). *Civics at Work*. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1934. Pp. xiii, 412. \$1.16.

MATERIAL IN PAMPHLET FORM

POLITICAL SCIENCE

Gideonse, Harry D., ed. *An American Foreign Policy Toward International Stability. A Memorandum Prepared Under the Norman Wait Harris Memorial Foundation (Public Policy Pamphlet No. 14)*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934. Pp. ix, 64.

Report of the Commission of Inquiry into National Policy in International Economic Relations. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1934. Pp. ix, 397. \$3.00.

Wright, Quincy. *Where the League of Nations Stands Today (The Day and Hour Series of the University of Minnesota, No. 9)*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1934. Pp. 25. 25c.

WORKBOOKS AND SYLLABI

Goodrich, L. C. and Fenn, H. C. *A Syllabus of the History of Chinese Civilization and Culture*. Illustrated with maps and charts. Second Edition. 570 Lexington Avenue, New York City: China Society of America, Inc., 1934. Pp. 51.

Webb, Walter P. and Holley, J. Andrew. *Unit Exercises on Early European Civilization*. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1934. Pp. 108. 60c.

Webb, Walter P. and Holley, J. Andrew. *Unit Exercises on Modern European Civilization*. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1934. Pp. 109. 60c.